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Standard Library Edition

The World's Orators

Comprising

THE GREAT ORATIONS OF THE WORLD'S HISTORY

With

Introductory Essays, Biographical Sketches and Critical Notes

GUY CARLETON LEE, PH.D.

Editor-in-Chief

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Demosthenes.

From the statue in the Vatican, Rome.

Orators of Ancient Greece

Edited by

GUY CARLETON LEE, PH.D.

Of Johns Hopkins University

With the Collaboration of

MITCHELL CARROLL, PH.D.

Professor in the Columbian University

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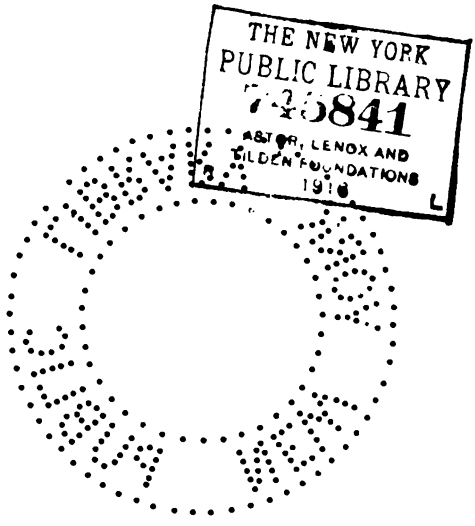

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I DEDICATE THIS SERIES

TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

TO

THE WORLD'S ORATORS

THE scope of *The World's Orators* Series is coterminous with the limits of the history of eloquence. The volumes of the series contain the most important orations of all ages and nations. In selecting them the Editors have applied the rule of exclusion. Every oration not a masterpiece of eloquence or an invaluable illustration of a phase of oratorical development has been omitted.

The space at the Editor's disposal has been given *to the living words of the master-orators,* not to disquisitions upon them. Yet note and comment have been inserted wherever the necessity for them has been apparent, and each volume includes an essay upon the period of oratory therein illustrated. These introductions form, when taken together, a history of oratory by specialists.

The series has been fully illustrated by portraits of many of the orators. Special notes regarding these valuable illustrations will be found in the prefaces.

The series contains many orations that have never before been translated into English. Others of importance have been newly translated for the series. This work has been under the direct charge of the Editor-in-Chief, assisted by Associate Editors Ayer, Carroll, and Larus.

In selecting the texts of the orations the greatest care has been used to secure those which convey the true spirit and thought of the orators. To this end, editions have been collated, and when manuscripts have been available these have been consulted. In speeches originally rendered in English, editions prepared by or under the supervision of the orator have been preferred. In the use of manuscript, unless its contents have been published under the author's direction, the original has been faithfully followed. The capitalization, orthography, paragraphing, and punctuation of translated orations are, unless particularly noted, those of the translators; in manuscript, those of the author; and in orations published in English, those of the editor of the editions.

The Editor-in-Chief has been extremely fortunate in receiving the active assistance of an Advisory Council of unique distinction. He takes pleasure in giving credit to the learned gentlemen upon the Council for invaluable advice in the selection of the orators for each period treated by the series. It is but just to say that in a few cases individual preferences were not followed; not because they were ill-founded, but for the reason that selections were made by following the opinion of the majority of the Council. This is composed of J. W. Bashford, D.D., Ph.D., President of Ohio Wesleyan College; W. M. Beardshear, LL.D., President of Iowa State College; W. E. Boggs, D.D., Chancellor of the University of Georgia; Nathaniel Butler, D.D., President of Colby College; Thomas J. Conaty, D.D., Rector of the Catholic University of America; C. W. Dabney, Ph.D., LL.D., President of the University of Tennessee; F. W. Gunsaulus, D.D., President of the Armour Institute of Technology; C. D. Hartranft, D.D., President of the Hartford Theological Seminary; R. H. Jesse, LL.D., President of the University of Missouri; W. Preston Johnson, LL.D., President of Tulane University; Robert E. Jones, D.D., President of Hobart College; H. W. McKnight, D.D., LL.D., President

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To the Associate Editors, for their zeal and scholarship, great credit is due. Acknowledgment is made in the preface of each volume for particularly meritorious work rendered by Associates, but general obligations are here acknowledged to Joseph C. Ayer, B.D., Ph.D.; Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor of Latin in Columbian University, and sometime Professor of Greek at Richmond College; Horatio W. King, LL.D.; John R. Larus; Charles E. Moyse, Professor of Philology in M'Gill University; Franklin L. Riley, Ph.D., Professor of History and Rhetoric in the University of Mississippi; Alphonso Smith, Ph.D., Professor of Eng-

lish in the University of Louisiana; E. W. Sykes, Ph.D., Professor of History in Wake Forest College; H. C. Whiting, L.H.D., Professor of Latin in Dickinson College; George E. Woodberry, Professor of Literature in Columbia University.

The Editor-in-Chief and the Publishers wish to express their hearty thanks to the authors and publishers to whom they are indebted for many kindnesses in the use of material. Such obligations are duly and specially acknowledged elsewhere in this series.

GUY CARLETON LEE,
Editor-in-Chief.

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT,
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
October, 1899.

PREFACE

TO

THE ORATORS OF ANCIENT GREECE

THIS volume is the first of *The World's Orators* Series. It is devoted to the earliest period in the history of oratory. That period began with Homer about 1000 B.C., and ended at the death of Demosthenes in 323 B.C.

The Editors have endeavored fully to illustrate the style of each of the orators that form the so-called Attic Canon. The scope of the volume is not, however, limited to the Canon, but includes orations from such other orators as have been of great importance in the development of the art of oratory during the first period of its history.

In this connection, the Editor-in-Chief desires to mention one of the noteworthy contributions the Associate Editor, Mitchell Carroll, has made to this volume. Professor Carroll has translated: a frag-

ment of the Funeral Oration, by Gorgias ; the peroration of the speech on the Murder of Herodes, by Antiphon ; a portion of the speech on the Mysteries by Andocides ; selections from the Oration against Leocrates, by Lycurgus ; and all the extant portion of the Olympiac Oration, by Lysias. These orations have never before been translated into English. Professor Carroll also contributes a new translation of the speech for Mantitheus, by Lysias, and also a large selection from the same orator's denunciation of Eratosthenes. These orations are of great importance, and never have been heretofore adequately rendered into English.

The Editors have striven to give to all the translations of this volume their true oratorical value. The attempt has been to preserve the style of the orator quoted.

The realization that not one of the orations presented in this volume is less than two thousand years old, will aid the reader to appreciate these masterpieces, which, though differing in style from those of modern times, are yet the foundation of the oratory of to-day.

This volume is illustrated by photographic reproductions of the celebrated statues that bear the names of the great orators of Greece. The por-

traits are interesting, and bring the reader into closer touch with their subjects. Though no more authentic portraits can be presented, only the weight of tradition justifies their insertion.

G. C. L.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
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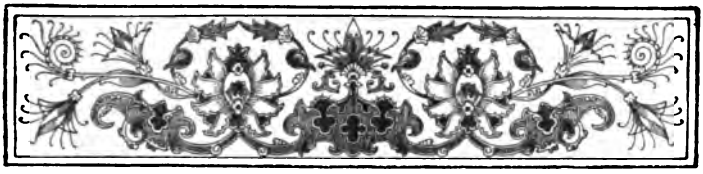

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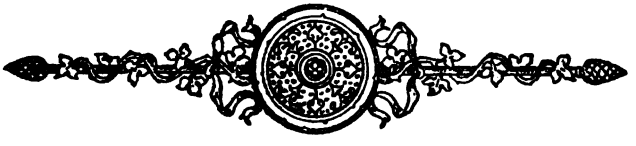

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THE WORLD'S ORATORS

THE ORATORY OF ANCIENT GREECE

TO trace the progress of oratory from its remote beginnings through all the important epochs in human history down to the present time, is a task of absorbing interest. When oratory is considered in all its periods, it will be found that although there are vestiges of eloquence in the sacred writings of the Hebrews, and various manifestations of the divine gift among other great nations of ancient times, yet it was among the Greeks that public speech as an art took its origin, had its development, and attained its acme; and in the period of its perfect flower produced the models of eloquence for all succeeding statesmen and orators.

The history of Greek oratory begins with Homer; its golden age may be said to extend from the era

of Pericles through the era of Demosthenes; its decline may be dated from the downfall of Greek liberty at the battle of Chæronea in 338 B.C.

Natural eloquence is one of the most striking characteristics of the poems of Homer. The Homeric hero strove to be both "a speaker of words, and a doer of deeds," "good in counsel and mighty in war." Achilles, Nestor, Menelaus, and Odysseus, has each his own distinctive style of eloquence, and in certain striking traits they may be well compared with the Greek orators of later times. In the eighth book of the Odyssey, Homer draws a beautiful picture of the power and influence of the man of eloquence, whose words the gods crown with beauty, and men behold him and rejoice, and his speech runs surely on his way with a sweet modesty, and he shines forth among the gathering of his people, and as he passes through the town men gaze on him as a god." The ninth book of the Iliad is perhaps unsurpassed in affording types of eloquence that show kinship to the great speeches of modern times. In the harangues of the envoys of Agamemnon and in the replies of Achilles we meet with all the essential factors of the highest oratory.

As in Homer the gift of speech was confined to the few princes who led the hosts, so in early historical times the power of eloquence possessed by the few gave them marked ascendency over

their fellows. To the possession of this faculty we may attribute in most instances the usurpation effected by the tyrants. The great legislators and generals were orators,—Solon and Aristeides, Miltiades and Themistocles, Cleisthenes and Pericles,—and we have no hesitation in ascribing their achievements largely to their powers of speech.

The triumphs of eloquence of these earlier times were, however, due rather to native genius and greatness of theme than to the manner of delivery. Before native and untutored eloquence can become finished oratory, men must recognize that the end sought can only be gained by the aid of art.

The necessary conditions to the evolution of the art of oratory were three: the freedom of speech incident to a democracy; the cultivation of the popular intelligence; and the recognition of the possibilities of literary prose. The Persian Wars brought about the concurrence of these conditions. Greek freedom was assured by the victory over the Persians, and the democracy of Athens was firmly established; the franchise and liberty of speech were extended to all classes. Intercourse between the various parts of the Greek world now became possible. Learned men from all parts of Hellas flocked to Athens, and by their instruction and conversation raised the standard of general culture. History, chiefly in the hands of Herod-

otus, demonstrated the possibilities of prose composition.

In addition to these favorable conditions, three powerful external forces contributed directly to the moulding of Attic oratory. These influences were the practical culture of Ionia, which the Sophists made a common possession; the Syracusan rhetoric, which provided a theory; and the art of Gorgias of Leontini in Sicily, whose beauty of diction suggested the possibilities of oratorical prose.

The first philosophy among the Greeks took its rise in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. Responding to the quickening influences of the Persian Wars, this new intellectual tendency assumed a more practical shape in the endeavor to inculcate a general culture which should be useful in the affairs of everyday life. The expounders of this tendency were commonly known as Sophists. They went about among the cities of Greece and represented themselves as ready to give instruction in all branches essential to success in civic life. They devoted attention to grammar, to literary criticism, and above all to dialectic. Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus of Ceos (who counted among his pupils Euripides and Isocrates, and no doubt influenced Antiphon and Thucydides), and Hippias of Elis were Sophists of prominence who travelled from city to city giving instruction in various branches. These scholars numbered

among their pupils many of the later poets and prose writers of Greece. Because of their encyclopædic information, their attention to correctness in speaking and writing, and their popular dialectic, the Sophists of Ionia laid the grammatical substructure for Attic oratory.

The foundation of the art of rhetoric was laid in Sicily. The population of the city of Syracuse had passed through the same political phases as that of the city of Athens. In both, a ruling aristocracy had been overthrown by a tyranny, and it in turn had been supplanted by a democracy. Under the tyrant Thrasybulus, the last of the Gelonian dynasty, estates had been confiscated and bestowed upon favorites. Hence, when, in 466 B.C., Thrasybulus was at last expelled and a democracy established, the original holders of confiscated property came forward with their claims, and the law courts were crowded with citizens demanding their rightful possessions. According to the Greek rule of procedure, every citizen would be compelled to personally conduct his affairs in court, stating his claim and arguing his case. The majority of suitors found this impossible.

In this emergency one Corax came to the aid of those lacking in forensic skill, and devised a theory for the proper presentation and arguing of cases. First, he drew up and committed to writing a system of rules for the arrangement and marshalling

of facts and arguments, dividing the speech into Proem, Narrative, Argument, Subsidiary Remarks, and Peroration. Secondly, he emphasized the argument of General Probability, basing the plea on a consideration of what was most natural and probable under the circumstances. The topic of Probability was further developed by Tisias, the pupil of Corax, who led the wandering life of a Sophist, and made generally known the principles of Sicilian rhetoric.

Rhetoric and dialectic, however, were not all-sufficing for the development of oratory; they were suggestive in the treatment of subject-matter, and were valuable for both invention and arrangement; but they were of little service in perfecting oratorical diction. Gorgias of Leontini, in Sicily, contributed a third element to expression. The theory of Gorgias differed from that of the other Sophists. The sum of all his teaching, the main point of his theory, was the necessity of beauty in diction.

In 427 B.C. the Leontines sent an embassy to Athens, begging assistance in their war with Syracuse. "At the head of the envoys," says Diodorus (xii., 53), "was Gorgias, the rhêtor, a man who far surpassed all his contemporaries in oratorical force. He astonished the Athenians, with their quick minds and their love of eloquence, by the foreign fashion of his language."

The rhetorical element of the eloquence of Gorgias, which captivated the Athenians, was the poetic character of his diction, due to the extensive use of poetic words, and the prose-rhythm brought about by symmetry and assonance between clauses. It is to Gorgias, therefore, that is attributed the first conception of a system by which literary prose might be made artistic.

The effect of the oratory of Gorgias is the more remarkable when we consider the character of the audience that listened to his words. It was composed of men familiar with the eloquence of Pericles, men who had hung upon the words of the great Athenian and been swayed at his will. But the manner of speech of the two men must have been very different. It was the beauty of the language of Gorgias which charmed his hearers; it was the thoughts and moral force of Pericles which moved his audience; for we have no conclusive evidence that Pericles endeavored to give to his speech the finish of literary form.

Yet from the allusions of ancient writers it seems that Pericles may be regarded as the first great orator of Greece and, perhaps, of the world. Aristophanes (*Ach.*, 530) speaks of him as the Olympian who "thundered and lightninged and shook all Greece." "This man," says Eupolis, the comic poet (Bothe, *Frag. Com.*, i., 162), "whenever he came forward, proved himself the greatest orator

among men. . . . Rapid you call him; but besides his swiftness, a certain persuasion sat upon his lips—such was his spell: and, alone of all the speakers, he ever left his sting in the hearers." His manner of speaking seems to have been stately but vehement, at times tranquil, at times rapid, with occasional bursts of the highest eloquence.

The speeches which Thucydides attributes to Pericles no doubt preserve the sentiments of that orator with essential fidelity; on comparing them with the other speeches of Thucydides they seem also to possess a distinctive manner, which it is possible that the historian caught from being a constant and eager auditor of the great statesman. The funeral eulogy spoken by Pericles over those who fell in the first campaign of the Peloponnesian War has been embodied by Thucydides in his history, and whether its composition be attributed chiefly to the historian or to the orator, it is one of the renowned monuments of ancient eloquence.

The Peloponnesian War, with the consequent disarrangement of private affairs, produced conditions at Athens very similar to those which at Syracuse, a few decades earlier, had occasioned the rhetorical theory of Corax. Political animosities were rife. The rich were becoming richer; the poor, poorer. The contests in the law courts were more frequent and more bitter, as the struggle for existence became more intense.

Corax had supplied his clients merely with methods of arrangement and suggestions for argumentation. The Athenian lawyers went one step further. They made the composition of forensic speeches a business. The plaintiff or defendant in a lawsuit found it easier to commit to memory a speech written out for him by a skilled pleader than to learn the rhetorical system of Corax and construct a brief upon its principles.

Of these Athenian speech-writers or logographers, as they were called, Antiphon was the first of prominence. He may be called the father of Attic oratory, marking the transition from the school of rhetoric to the forensic pleading of the law courts. Antiphon and Thucydides in their speeches are the foremost representatives of the austere style of oratory. This was rugged, and sturdy, and crabbed, bold in imagery, dignified in diction, and weighty in thought. Antiphon's strong point was argument, in which he carried the development of the topic of General Probability to a point far beyond that attained by Corax. This is seen especially in his Tetralogies, each of which forms a set of four speeches, supposed to have been spoken in a trial for homicide, and reminding one of a modern debate carried on by two speakers on the affirmative and two on the negative.

In Antiphon and Thucydides are strongly marked the tendencies in Attic oratory that were due to a

combination of the forensic rhetoric of Sicily with the popular dialectic of the Sophists.

Antiphon is the first in the accepted Canon of the Ten Attic Orators drawn up by Alexandrian grammarians about the third century B.C. Andocides is the second upon the Canon; in him we see a return to the form of eloquence which preceded the artistic stage. He is a good representative of the class of "natural orators,"—bold and vigorous in delivery, simple and inartificial in the arrangement of subject-matter, plain in diction, gifted in narration and description. Andocides is of especial importance because of the stirring events in which he was involved and which largely form the subject-matter of his speeches. This element of interest is particularly noticeable in his oration on the Profanation of the Mysteries.

Lysias, the third orator upon the Canon, represents a compromise between the Gorgian tendency to artistic prose and the use in public speech of the idiom of daily life. Lysias used the lawyer's language of sober prose; and, as a logographer, was particularly noted for his power of adapting himself to the characters of his clients, making the ordinary citizen speak according to his personal traits. He was simple, clear, concise, and vivid, and to these qualities he added an indescribable distinction, which the ancient critics called his "charm." "To write well," says Di-

onysius, "is given to many men; but to write winningly, gracefully, with loveliness, is the gift of Lysias." His speeches written for his clients possess all these graces, but those delivered by Lysias himself exhibit even more striking traits. The fragment of his Olympiac oration shows his powers of denunciation, while the prosecution of Eratosthenes, the legal murderer of the brother of Lysias, manifests the highest qualities of eloquence in its burning pathos and irresistible force.

The Gorgian tendency in oratory was taken up by Isocrates, fourth on the Canon, who gives to it a corrected, a complete, and a permanent form. Owing to weakness of body and deficiencies of voice, Isocrates did not often venture into the public tribunal; his chief service lay in his school of rhetoric, and the tendencies he gave to Greek oratory. He is the artist of a literary rhetorical prose, the developer and perfecter of prose-rhythm. He was, furthermore, the orator who lifted his art out of the courts to the higher level of State affairs and the interests of Greek citizenship, striving to induce his fellow-Greeks to drop their differences and to unite in a common effort against Persia. Isocrates has a direct interest for modern times as the founder of that style which, especially through the prose of Cicero, has exercised so permanent an influence on modern literature.

Isæus, the next orator of the Canon, has a two-

fold interest : first, he was the most perfect master of forensic argument; second, he represented the final period of transition in the history of Attic oratory,—the transition from the studied plainness of the Lysian school to the elaboration which reached its climax in the orations of Demosthenes.

Moreover Isæus is of peculiar importance in having been the teacher of Demosthenes. "The oratorical power of Demosthenes," says Dionysius, "took its seeds and beginnings from Isæus." Yet he has been so overshadowed by his great successor that his individual excellencies have been overlooked.

Isæus was a professional writer of speeches, but he was a specialist in the law, being an advocate in matters of inheritance and property. He confined his attention to private causes, in which he attained distinguished success. He has been described as "a man morally persuasive and logically powerful, versatile in arrangement, elaborate and systematic in proof, apt in law, and keen in logic."

We have thus far traced the development of that oratorical prose which met the needs of the law courts. It had been eminently practical in its origin. It had begun with a statement of the rights of the individual; and in the effort to assert personal rights most successfully, great clearness and force of expression had been acquired. The dignified style of Antiphon and Thucydides, the

clear and graceful expression of Lysias, the ornate diction of Isocrates, the terse and logical manner of Isæus, had demonstrated the possibilities of forensic speech, and oratory needed only a larger field to reach its full flower and highest expression.

The rights of the individual are the foundation of the larger interests and rights of the State. When the State demands the services of public speech, then all the conditions are present for oratory to reach its perfect bloom. And when deliberative or political oratory becomes essential to the welfare of the State, the successful political orator takes as models the masters of forensic and epideictic eloquence, and attains excellence by a careful study of a Thucydides or an Isocrates, of a Lysias or an Isæus. Thus the earlier period we have been considering was but the preparation for the great era of political eloquence, the era of Demosthenes.

The history of public speech after the Peloponnesian War presents but two movements favorable to a great political eloquence. The first was about the year 378 B.C., when Athens was restored to the headship of the Naval League and there was some prospect of her regaining her former power; when there arose the bitter contest between the Bœotian and the Anti-Bœotian parties at Athens. Around this contest cluster the names of Callistratus of Aphidnæ, the leader of the Anti-

Bœotian party, and his opponents, Aristophon of Azenia, Leodamas of Acharnæ, Thrasybulus and Cephalus of Collytus, who were powerful speakers and the representatives of a purely deliberative oratory. No orations of these speakers are preserved, but from meagre notices of their oratory it may be inferred that, while they made no attempt at artistic perfection of form, their speeches were characterized by bold and vigorous argument.

The second movement marked the great era in political eloquence that took its rise in the appearance of Philip of Macedon on the political horizon of Greece, an era made world-renowned by the names of Demosthenes and his contemporaries.

Their lot was cast in evil times. In spite of the temporary return of power to Athens under the Naval League, the days of her preëminence were well-nigh over. Her deepest shame, however, was not in the loss of her political power; it was in the degeneracy of her citizens, in the overthrow of the high ideals of the Periclean age. The Peloponnesian War had been most disastrous in its effects on the character and the morals of the people. It had sown the seed of discord, roused evil passions, fostered selfishness, engendered immorality. The State was now no more the all in all of the citizens. Confidence and faith in the patron deities had declined. The very foun-

dations of civil government had been shaken. Men now lived for themselves, rather than for the State.

The Athenians had become a pampered and ease-loving people. They still gloried in their ancestors, but this did not lead them to perform deeds of self-sacrifice for their country. They would pass patriotic measures in the Assembly, but they preferred to hire mercenaries to do their fighting for them in the field. Absorbed in the enjoyment of the hour, they made it a capital offence to propose to use, in any great emergency, the fund appropriated to supply them with amusements.

The decadence of literature and art had begun. But decline in outward prosperity leads ever to reflection and self-consciousness; man looks within and becomes absorbed in his own moods and emotions. This leads to the rise of philosophy. Periods of great stress and danger quicken the sense of self-preservation, acuteness, and skill in looking after one's own affairs. Hence, in such a period oratory attains its perfect flower.

Not only internal affairs were ominous of coming disasters. The course of events throughout Greece and the growth of a neighboring barbarian power seemed to be converging to one inevitable result—the extinction of Hellenic freedom.

At the age of twenty-four, Philip of Macedon

ascended the throne. This crafty prince first crushed his enemies at home and enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom. Successful in this, he next determined on the conquest of Greece. His policy was to trim off the outlying States and colonies one by one, and then to win a foothold in Greece itself.

The Sacred War (357–346 B.C.), in which the Thessalians invited Philip to side with them against the Phocians, gave him his long-sought-for opportunity. He marched his army into Thessaly, vanquished the enemy, became the champion of the Delphian god, and was admitted to a seat in the great Amphictyonic Council. The liberties of Athens and the other States of Greece were threatened.

Such were the times and such were the conditions that ushered in the period of Attic Political Oratory.

Athens was the chief obstacle to Philip's progress, and Demosthenes was his chief opponent. But Demosthenes was not the only notable figure of this momentous era. At this time in Athens there were three political parties, the Macedonian, Anti-Macedonian, and Independent. The third of these classes consisted of men of integrity and patriotism, as Phocion and Isocrates, who believed in yielding to the inevitable, and adopted a policy of non-interference.

The Anti-Macedonian or patriotic party, under the leadership of Demosthenes, had from time to time in its ranks Lycurgus, Hypereides, and Deinarchus, admitted to the Canon of the Ten Attic Orators, and other orators who offered a worthy resistance to the Macedonian power; among them being Hegesippus, Polyeuctus, and Sphettus.

Of the orators of the Macedonian party, Æschines is the best known; next to him in importance was Demades, who, after the destruction of Thebes, saved Athens from the wrath of Alexander. Other orators of this party were Aristogeiton, Pytheas, Callicrates, and Stratocles, "the most persuasive and pernicious of men."

Unfortunately, the speeches of most of the orators of this stirring period are not preserved, and with the exception of a speech of Hegesippus, included among the works of Demosthenes, and a few fragments of the speeches of others, our knowledge of the political eloquence of Athens is confined to the five orators of the Attic Canon,—Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, Hypereides, and Deinarchus.

The extant literature of Attic Political Oratory begins with the speech of Demosthenes on the Navy Boards in 354 B.C., and ends with the speeches of Deinarchus against Demosthenes, Aristogeiton, and Philocles in 324 B.C.

Deinarchus, the last of the Canon of the Ten

Attic Orators, may be set aside with brief mention. The literary critic Dionysius says of him, that he had "no one stamp of his own—no distinctive trait." He was an imitator of Demosthenes, but so coarse and imperfect an imitator that antiquity designated him as "the rustic Demosthenes," and still more sarcastically, "the barley Demosthenes," the figure suggesting the contrast between barley and fine wheat, between beer and wine; he was an imitator who had neither the flavor nor the sparkle of his prototype. Deinarchus has left three speeches, those against Demosthenes, Aristogeiton, and Philocles, written when they were accused of taking bribes from Harpalus in 324 B.C. He was far inferior, probably, to Demades, of the Macedonian party, of whose eloquence there remain a few scanty fragments.

Lycurgus, born about 390 B.C., a few years before Hypereides and Demosthenes, was a noble and public-spirited patriot. Of the noble family of the Eteobutadæ, claiming to spring from Erechtheus, his moral tone was that of older Athens, and his spirit showed a kinship to the elder poets and tragedians. During a period of twelve years, from 338 to 326 B.C., he was steward of the public treasury, managing the finances of the State in such a way as to make them suffice for the defence and for the embellishment of Athens. Furthermore, he tried to check the downward drift of his

age: to recall his countrymen to the higher rectitude and patriotism of the past. This is seen in his only extant oration, that against Leocrates, who deserted his native city after the battle of Chæronea. He is somewhat harsh in his diction, poetical in his vocabulary and metaphors, epideictic in his manner; yet he is powerful in his denunciation and impressive in his earnestness. He was a diligent student of Isocrates and the tragedians, and his manner combines something of the rigid stateliness of Antiphon with the smoothness and richness of Isocrates.

Hypereides forms a striking contrast to Lycurgus. He was a man of his age, a loyal and ardent patriot, a true son of the changed order. He was, throughout, a gentleman, and possessed all the careless grace and polish of a thorough man of the world. He had a motto, "that he could not live beautifully until he had learned what beautiful things there were in life." Catching something of the elevated tone of Isocrates, his master, he combines with it the grace, the ease, and the simplicity of Lysias, with whom he showed kinship in his humorous temper and pleasure-loving disposition.

Fortunately, he is known to us from a number of his speeches, preserved in whole or in part. Hermogenes condemns his style because of its colloquialisms and quotations from comedy, and says he has little finish; but the author of the treatise

On the Sublime thinks that if his merits were counted instead of weighed, he would outnumber Demosthenes in his excellencies. Dionysius mentions strength of diction, simplicity of composition, tact in the handling of subject-matter, and avoidance of tragic pomp as the marks of Hypereides' style.

In Æschines, the great opponent of Demosthenes, we have a reversion to the type of Andocides; though Æschines was infinitely superior to Andocides in faculty, and possessed in far greater measure facility in composition and skill in declamation. The point of similarity is that both possessed natural gifts of spontaneous eloquence. Æschines prided himself on his familiarity with the tragic poets, for his education had been largely acquired on the stage. He was third actor under the eminent protagonist Theodorus, but he stumbled one day, making a fiasco before the fastidious Athenian audience, and abandoned the stage, though possessing a magnificent voice, unusual powers of expression, and great vehemence of manner.

Turning his attention to politics, he acquired a familiarity with the laws and methods of public business which made him a doughty opponent. He soon took sides with the Macedonian party, and it is to his collisions with Demosthenes that he is largely indebted for the celebrity which attaches

to his name. His first contest was waged on the subject of the Embassy to Philip, of which both Æschines and Demosthenes were members; and his last was caused by the matter of the crown, which brought about his own extinction. Only three of the speeches of Æschines have come down to us: that against Timarchus, that on the Embassy, and the one against Ctesiphon.

Æschines possesses the merit of impressive and elevated diction, but there is in his style an equal want of purity, finish, and rhythm. He is a master of sarcasm and caricature; he knows how to overwhelm his opponents, but not with the originality of Demosthenes. He is excellent in his narrative, but rather weak and uncertain in his argument. Æschines did not have behind his eloquence a great and noble cause to plead for, nor a character inspired by noble sentiments and on fire with earnest conviction. His words were greater than his character. It was his lack of *êthos*, or moral force, which counteracted his marvellous gift of speech.

In Demosthenes we have the culmination of Greek oratory, the grand blending and perfecting of all that had gone before into one brilliant, harmonious whole.

In 355–354 B.C. Demosthenes entered upon his strenuous public life. We have briefly sketched the times and conditions that confronted him as orator and statesman. Realizing the great and

perilous situation which faced his country, he early formed the dominant purpose of his life: the organization of a Panhellenic league with Athens at its head, in order to preserve the Greek States from the control of the Macedonian power.

It has been truly said that Philip formed the political character of Demosthenes. By his splendid gifts as an orator and statesman he was repeatedly able to thwart the plans of that wily monarch. He kept the Athenians from weakly yielding to his power; he roused them to indignation, and frustrated the bold attempt of Philip to seize the famous pass of Thermopylæ, the key of Greece; he united the bitter, hereditary enemies, Athens and Thebes, in one desperate but unsuccessful struggle, at Chæronea, against the common enemy of Grecian liberty. The series of great speeches relating to Philip—the three Philippics; the three Olynthiacs; On the Peace; On the Embassy; On the Chersonese—show increasing power and earnestness as the encroachments of Philip became more and more marked. Except during a brief period of disfavor, Demosthenes practically regulated the affairs of Athens until his death in 322 B.C.

In consideration of his many important public services, Ctesiphon, shortly after the battle of Chæronea, proposed to decree to Demosthenes a crown of gold. The reward was opposed by Æschines, who maintained that the proposal was

illegal and brought a suit against Ctesiphon, which was intended to overthrow Demosthenes. The famous prosecution commenced in 338 B.C., but the trial was delayed eight years. At length it was held. People gathered from all parts of Greece to be present at the greatest combat of eloquence that the world has ever witnessed—for Demosthenes was to reply to Æschines. The harangue of Æschines was powerful and sarcastic; but the eloquence of Demosthenes was irresistible as a mountain torrent, and his enemy had to retire into exile. The speech of Demosthenes On the Crown has been universally regarded as the supreme attainment of eloquence in the history of oratory.

The oratory of Demosthenes continued, combined, and perfected all that had been excellent in the earlier types of Attic eloquence. He was a consummate artist, but his was an art that cannot be analyzed. We can see here and there in his speeches reminiscences of the earlier orators, but all that he had gained from the close study of his predecessors is so blended and transformed by his own original creative power that the reader loses sight of literary effort and technical skill in his admiration for the moral earnestness and merciless directness of his eloquence.

Nor is it possible in our final judgment of Demosthenes to separate the orator from the states-

man. One cannot consider his oratory apart from the noble, losing cause for which he pleaded. To this cause he brought an intense personality, endowed with high intellectual gifts, lofty morality, and a burning temperament, all of which contributed to the supreme characteristic of his oratory, *deinotês*, the nameless energy of the ancient critics, produced by the union of close practical reasoning and intense passion.

In Demosthenes Grecian eloquence found its culmination. Thenceforth there was steady deterioration until the days of the Greek Renaissance, when it again assumed fair proportions, though never equal to those which it had known in the elder days. Then the day of final decadence set in; casuistry and word-play usurped the place of power and grace; and with the decline of patriotism, lĕtters, statecraft, and military spirit, came that of oratory. The national genius became enervated by luxury and cowed by tyranny, and Agora and Areopagus gradually lost their pristine glory, until they at last became deserted, and of their former glory nothing remained but a name, while they themselves were prey to the powers of silence and desolation.

Homer.

From the bust in the Gallery of the Louvre, Paris.

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THE HOMERIC ACHILLES

The ninth book of the Iliad gives an account of the embassy sent by Agamemnon to the offended hero Achilles to prevail on him to enter once more int. the conflict and save the Achæans from impending defeat. It contains the speeches of the envoys, Phœnix, Ajax, and Odysseus, and the replies of Achilles, all exhibiting traits of the truest eloquence. We here present the reply of Achilles to Odysseus as perhaps the noblest example of Homeric oratory.

ACHILLES TO THE ENVOYS

Homer.

HEAVEN-SPRUNG son of Laertes, Odysseus of many wiles, in openness must I now declare unto you my saying, even as I am minded and as the fulfilment thereof shall be, that ye may not sit before me and coax this way and that. For hateful to me even as the gates of hell is he that hideth one thing in his heart and uttereth another; but I will speak what meseemeth best. Not me, I ween, shall Agamemnon, son of Atreus, persuade, nor the other Danaans, seeing we were to have no thank for battling with the foeman ever without respite. He that abideth at home hath equal share with him that fightest his best, and in like honor are held both the coward and the brave; death cometh alike to the untoiling and to him that hath toiled long. Neither have I any profit for that I endured tribulation of soul, ever staking my life in fight. Even as a hen bringeth her unfledged chickens each morsel as she winneth it, and with herself it goeth hard, even so I was wont to watch out many a sleepless night

and pass through many bloody days of battle, warring with folk for their women's sake. Twelve cities of men have I laid waste from shipboard, and from land eleven, I do you to wit, throughout deep-soiled Troy-land; out of all these took I many goodly treasures, and would bring and give them all to Agamemnon, son of Atreus, and he staying behind amid the fleet ships would take them and portion out some few but keep the most. Now, some he gave to be meeds of honor to the princes and the kings, and theirs are left untouched; only from me of all the Achaians took he my darling lady and keepeth her—let him sleep beside her and take his joy. But why must the Argives make war on the Trojans? why hath Atreides gathered his host and led them hither? is it not for lovely-haired Helen's sake? Do then the sons of Atreus alone of mortal men love their wives? Surely, whatsoever man is good and sound of mind loveth his own and cherisheth her, even as I too loved mine with all my heart, though but the captive of my spear. But now that he hath taken my meed of honor from mine arms and hath deceived me, let him not tempt me that know him full well; he shall not prevail. Nay, Odysseus, let him take counsel with thee and all the princes to ward from the ships the consuming fire. Verily without mine aid he hath wrought many things, and built a wall and dug a foss about it wide and deep, and set a pali-

sade therein; yet even so can he not stay murderous Hector's might. But so long as I was fighting amid the Achaians, Hector had no mind to array his battle far from the wall, but scarce came unto the Skaian gates and to the oak tree; there once he awaited me alone and scarce escaped my onset. But now, seeing I have no mind to fight with noble Hector, I will to-morrow do sacrifice to Zeus and all the gods, and store well my ships when I have launched them on the salt seas—then shalt thou see, if thou wilt and hast any care therefor, my ships sailing at break of day over Hellespont, the fishes' home, and my men right eager at the oar; and if the great Shaker of the earth grant me good journey, on the third day should I reach deep-soiled Phthia. There are my great possessions that I left when I came hither to my hurt; and yet more gold and ruddy bronze shall I bring from hence, and fair-girdled women and gray iron, all at least that were mine by lot; only my meed of honor hath he that gave it me taken back in his despitefulness, even Lord Agamemnon, son of Atreus. To him declare ye everything even as I charge you, openly, that all the Achaians likewise may have indignation, if haply he hopeth to beguile yet some other Danaan, for that he is ever clothed in shamelessness. Verily not in my face would he dare to look, though he have the front of a dog. Neither will I devise counsel with him nor any enterprise, for

utterly he hath deceived me and done wickedly; but never again shall he beguile me with fair speech—let this suffice him. Let him begone in peace; Zeus the lord of counsel hath taken away his wits. Hateful to me are his gifts, and I hold him at a straw's worth. Not even if he gave me ten times, yea twenty, all that now is his, and all that may come to him otherwhence, even all the revenue of Orchomenos or Egyptian Thebes where the treasure-houses are stored fullest—Thebes of the hundred gates, whence sally forth two hundred warriors through each with horses and chariots—nay, nor gifts in number as sand or dust; not even so shall Agamemnon persuade my soul till he have paid me back all the bitter despite. And the daughter of Agamemnon, son of Atreus, will I not wed, not were she rival of golden Aphrodite for fairness and for handiwork matched bright-eyed Athene—not even then will I wed her; let him choose him of the Achaians another that is his peer and is more royal than I. For if the gods indeed preserve me and I come unto my home, then will Peleus himself seek me a wife. Many Achaian maidens are there throughout Hellas and Phthia, daughters of princes that ward their cities; whomsoever of these I wish will I make my dear lady. Very often was my high soul moved to take me there a wedded wife, a help meet for me, and have joy of the possessions that the old man Peleus possesseth. For

The Apotheosis of Homer.

From a cast in the Boston Museum.

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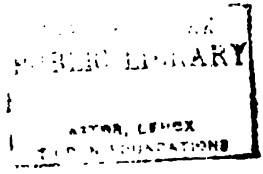
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not of like worth with life hold I even all the wealth that men say was possessed of the well-peopled city of Ilios in days of peace gone by, before the sons of the Achaians came; neither all the treasure that the stone threshold of the archer Phœbus Apollo encompasseth in rocky Pytho. For kine and goodly flocks are to be had for the harrying, and tripods and chestnut horses for the purchasing; but to bring back man's life neither harrying nor earning availeth when once it hath passed the barrier of his lips. For thus my goddess mother telleth me, Thetis, the silver-footed, that twain fates are bearing me to the issue of death. If I abide here and besiege the Trojans' city, then my returning home is taken from me, but my fame shall be imperishable; but if I go home to my dear native land, my high fame is taken from me, but my life shall endure long while, neither shall the issue of death soon reach me. Moreover, I would counsel you all to set sail homeward, seeing ye shall never reach your goal of steep Ilios; of a surety, far-seeing Zeus holdeth his hand over her and her folk are of good courage. So you go your way and tell my answer to the princes of the Achaians, even as is the office of elders, that they may devise in their hearts some better counsel, such as shall save them their ships and the host of the Achaians amid the hollow ships; since this counsel availeth them naught that they have now

devised by reason of my fierce wrath. But let Phoinix now abide with us and lay him to rest, that he may follow with me on my ships to our dear native land to-morrow, if he will; for I will not take him perforce.

Translated by Walter Leaf, Litt.D., for "The Iliad of Homer," published by Macmillan & Co. Reprinted by permission.

PRODICUS

Prodicus of Ceos was one of the early Sophists who, as the teachers of an encyclopædic culture, did much to prepare the way for Attic oratory. Xenophon gives in the *Memorabilia* a paraphrase of The Choice of Hercules as related by Prodicus in a work entitled *The Seasons of Life*, which was read publicly by the Sophist in the cities he visited. This allegory has been frequently adapted and imitated by later writers,—by Maximus Tyrius, by Themistius, by Lucian and Philo; and has been paraphrased in Latin, French, German, and English. It is the most beautiful monument extant of the eloquence and teaching of the Sophists.

THE CHOICE OF HERCULES

Prodicus.

HERCULES, when he was advancing from boyhood to manhood, a period at which the young, becoming their own masters, begin to give intimations whether they will enter on life by the path of virtue or that of vice, went forth into a solitary place and sat down, perplexed as to which of these two paths he should pursue; and two female figures of lofty stature seemed to advance towards him, the one of an engaging and graceful mien, gifted by nature with elegance of form, modesty of look, and sobriety of demeanor, and clad in a white robe; the other fed to plumpness and softness, but assisted by art both in her complexion, so as to seem fairer and rosier than she really was, and in her gesture, so as to seem taller than her natural height; she had eyes that stared boldly, and a robe through which her beauty would readily show itself; she frequently contemplated her figure and looked about to see if any one else was observing her, and she frequently

glanced back at her own shadow. As they approached nearer to Hercules, she, whom I first described, came forward at the same pace, but the other, eager to get before her, ran up to Hercules and exclaimed: "I see that you are hesitating, Hercules, by what path you shall enter upon life; if, then, you make a friend of me, I will conduct you by the most delightful and easy road, and you shall taste of every species of pleasure and lead a life free from every sort of trouble. In the first place you shall take no thought of war or State affairs, but shall pass your time considering what meat or drink you may find to gratify your appetite, what you may delight yourself by seeing or hearing, what you may be pleased with smelling or touching, with what objects of affection you may have most pleasure in associating, how you may sleep most softly, and how you may secure all these enjoyments with the least degree of trouble. If an apprehension of want of means by which such delights may be obtained should ever arise in you, there is no fear that I should urge you to procure them by toil or suffering, either of body or mind; but you shall enjoy what others acquire by labor, abstaining from nothing by which it may be possible to profit, for I give my followers liberty to benefit themselves from any source whatever."

Hercules, on hearing this address, said, "And what, O woman, is your name?" "My friends,"

she replied, "call me Happiness, but those who hate me give me, to my disparagement, the name of Vice."

In the meantime the other female approached and said: "I also am come to address you, Hercules, because I know your parents and have observed your disposition in the training of your childhood, from which I entertain hopes that if you direct your steps along the path that leads to my dwelling you will become an excellent performer of whatever is honorable and noble, and that I shall appear more honorable and attractive through your illustrious deeds. I will not deceive you, however, with promises of pleasure, but will set before you things as they really are and as the gods have appointed them; for of what is valuable and excellent the gods grant nothing to mankind without labor and care; and if you wish the gods, therefore, to be propitious to you, you must worship the gods; if you seek to be beloved by your friends, you must serve your friends; if you desire to be honored by any city, you must benefit that city; if you long to be admired by all Greece for your merit, you must endeavor to be of advantage to all Greece; if you are anxious that the earth should yield you abundance of fruit, you must cultivate the earth; if you think that you should enrich yourself from herds of cattle, you must bestow care upon herds of cattle; if you are eager

to increase your means by war, and to secure freedom to your friends and subdue your enemies, you must learn the arts of war, and learn them from such as understand them, and practise how to use them with advantage; or if you wish to be vigorous in body, you must accustom your body to obey your mind, and exercise it with toil and exertion."

Here Vice, interrupting her speech, said, "Do you see, Hercules, by how difficult and tedious a road this woman conducts you to gratification, while I shall lead you by an easy and short path to perfect happiness?"

"Wretched being," rejoined Virtue, "of what good are you in possession? Or what real pleasure do you experience, when you are unwilling to do anything for the attainment of it? You, who do not even wait for the natural desire of gratification, but fill yourself with all manner of dainties before you have an appetite for them, eating before you are hungry, drinking before you are thirsty, procuring cooks that you may eat with pleasure, buying costly wines that you may drink with pleasure, and running about seeking for snow in summer; while in order to sleep with pleasure you prepare not only soft beds, but couches, and rockers under your couches, for you do not desire sleep in consequence of labor, but in consequence of having nothing to do; you force the sensual inclinations

before they require gratification, using every species of contrivance for the purpose, and abusing male and female; for thus it is that you treat your friends, insulting their modesty at night and making them sleep away the most useful part of their day. Though you are one of the immortals, you are cast out from the society of the gods and despised by the good among mankind; the sweetest of all sounds, the praises of yourself, you have never heard, nor have you ever seen the most pleasing of all sights, for you have never beheld one meritorious work of your own hand. Who would believe you when you give your word for anything? Or who would assist you when in need of anything? Or who, that has proper feeling, would venture to join your company of revellers? for while they are young they grow impotent in body, and when they are older they are impotent in mind; they live without labor and in fatness through their youth, and pass laboriously and in wretchedness through old age, ashamed of what they have done, oppressed with what they have to do, having run through their pleasures in early years and laid up afflictions for the close of life. But I am the companion of the gods; I associate with virtuous men; no honorable deed, divine or human, is done without me; I am honored most of all by the deities and by those among men to whom it belongs to honor me, being a welcome

coöperator with artisans, a faithful household guardian to masters, a benevolent assistant to servants, a benign promoter of the labors of peace, a constant auxiliary to the efforts of war, an excellent sharer in friendship. My friends have a sweet and untroubled enjoyment of meat and drink, for they refrain from them till they feel an appetite. They have also sweeter sleep than the idle, and are neither annoyed if they lose a portion of it, nor neglect to do their duties for the sake of it. The young are pleased with praises from the old; the old are delighted with honors from the young. They remember their former acts with pleasure, and rejoice to perform their present occupations with success, being through my influence dear to the gods, beloved by their friends, and honored by their country. And when the destined end of life comes, they do not lie in oblivion or dishonor, but, celebrated with songs of praise, flourish forever in the memory of mankind. By such a course of conduct, O Hercules, son of noble parents, you may secure the most exalted happiness."

Translated by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A., M.R.S.L., for the "Memorabilia," published by George Bell & Sons, London. Reprinted by permission.

GORGIAS

Gorgias, a Greek Sophist and Rhetorician, born about 485 B.C., was a native of Leontini in Sicily. He is said to have been a pupil of the philosopher Empedocles. In 427 B.C. he came to Athens, on an embassy from his native city, to implore aid against the Syracusans. The finished style of his speaking captivated his Athenian audience. He later, as other Sophists, travelled throughout Greece, training a large number of pupils in the art of oratory. He died at Larissa in Thessaly in his hundred and fifth year.

Gorgias first applied prose-rhythm, poetic diction and florid antithesis to oratory. He gave little attention to invention and arrangement.

Two works which are ascribed to him are now generally admitted to be later imitations—the Apology of Palamedes and the Encomium of Helen. The only genuine fragment of any length is that from the Funeral Oration, a translation of which is here presented.

The Greek text of the Palamedes and the Helen is edited by Blass, Teubner, 1892; the fragment of the Funeral Oration is in Baiter and Sauppe, *Oratores Attici,* ii., p. 218. On Gorgias' relation to Greek oratory, see Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit,* i., pp. 44–72; R. C. Jebb, *Attic Orators,* i., pp. 123–128.

FUNERAL ORATION

Gorgias.

FOR what was there lacking to these men which good men ought to possess? And what qualities did they possess which men ought not to possess? Would that I were able to say what I wish, would that I wished to say what I ought, escaping divine Nemesis and avoiding human jealousy! For these men possessed valor divinely given, and mortality as a human inheritance, preferring by far sweet reasonableness to arbitrary justice, by far the rectitude of speech to the severity of law. They deemed this the most divine and the most common law,—to do the right thing at the right time,—both in speaking and in keeping silence, both in action and in refraining from action. They employed especially the two essential faculties of judgment and strength, by consulting the one and exercising the other; serving the unjustly unfortunate, punishing the undeservedly fortunate; arbitrary with respect to the advantageous; well disposed toward the becoming, moderating the

imprudence of strength with the caution of judgment; arrogant toward the arrogant, well-behaved toward the well-behaved, fearless among the fearless, facing peril bravely in perils. As testimonies of these virtues they have erected trophies taken from the enemy, and set up images of Zeus, as well as their own votive offerings, ignorant neither of inborn valor, nor of lawful love, nor of armed strife nor beauty-loving peace; reverential toward the gods with justice, dutiful toward parents with devotion, just toward their fellow-citizens with equity, faithful to their friends with fidelity. Accordingly, though they are dead, desire for them has not died with them, but lives immortal in the incorporeal bodies of immortal men.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

THUCYDIDES

The speeches of Thucydides (471–401 B.C.) constitute a significant feature of his history of the Peloponnesian War. The historian had much in common with the orators of his time, and later exerted a most profound influence on Greek eloquence. Of the forty-one speeches, one is panegyrical, the Funeral Oration of Pericles; thirty-eight are hortatory; and two are forensic. Most of these bear the stamp of the Sicilian Rhetoric. Thucydides and Antiphon are linked as representatives of the "austere style."

The best known of all the speeches is undoubtedly the Funeral Oration of Pericles; this presents the ideas of Pericles with essential fidelity, but represents a type of oratory not so fully developed until after his death. (See essay by Jebb on the Speeches of Thucydides, in Evelyn Abbott's *Hellenica.*)

FUNERAL ORATION ATTRIBUTED TO PERICLES

In honor of the Athenian citizens who had fallen on the field of battle in the first summer of the Peloponnesian War.

Thucydides.

MOST of those who have spoken here before me have commended the lawgiver who added this oration to our other funeral customs; it seemed to them a worthy thing that such an honor should be given at their burial to the dead who had fallen on the field of battle. But I should have preferred that, when men's deeds have been brave, they should be honored in deed only, and with such an honor as this public funeral, which you are now witnessing. Then the reputation of many would not have been imperilled on the eloquence or want of eloquence of one, and their virtues believed or not, as he spoke well or ill. For it is difficult to say neither too little or too much; and even moderation is apt not to give the impression of truthfulness. The friend of the dead who knows

the facts is likely to think that the words of the speaker fall short of his knowledge and of his wishes; another who is not so well informed, when he hears of anything which surpasses his own powers, will be envious and will suspect exaggeration. Mankind are tolerant of the praises of others so long as each hearer thinks that he can do as well or nearly as well himself; but, when the speaker rises above him, jealousy is aroused, and he begins to be incredulous. However, since our ancestors have set the seal of their approval upon the practice, I must obey, and to the utmost of my power shall endeavor to satisfy the wishes and beliefs of all who hear me.

I will speak first of our ancestors, for it is right and becoming that now, when we are lamenting the dead, a tribute should be paid to their memory. There has never been a time when they did not inhabit this land, which by their valor they have handed down from generation to generation, and we have received from them a free State. But if they were worthy of praise, still more were our fathers, who added to their inheritance, and after many a struggle transmitted to us, their sons, this great empire. And we ourselves assembled here to-day, who are still most of us in the vigor of life, have chiefly done the work of improvement, and have richly endowed our city with all things, so that she is sufficient for herself both in peace

Pericles.

From the bust in the British Museum.

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and war. Of the military exploits by which our various possessions were acquired, or of the energy with which we or our fathers drove back the tide of war, Hellenic or Barbarian, I will not speak; for the tale would be long and is familiar to you. But before I praise the dead, I should like to point out by what principles of action we rose to power, and under what institutions and through what manner of life our empire became great. For I conceive that such thoughts are not unsuited to the occasion, and that this numerous assembly of citizens and strangers may profitably listen to them.

Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at

him, which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for authority and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured, as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us, so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

Then, again, our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret, if revealed to an enemy, might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to

face the perils which they face. And here is the proof: The Lacedæmonians came into Attica, not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy following; we go alone into a neighbor's country; and although our opponents are fighting for their homes and we on a foreign soil, we have seldom any difficulty in overcoming them. Our enemies have never yet felt our united strength; the care of a navy divides our attention, and on land we are obliged to send our own citizens everywhere. But they, if they meet and defeat a part of our army, are as proud as if they had routed us all, and when defeated they pretend to have been vanquished by us all.

If, then, we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? Since we do not anticipate the pain although when the hour comes we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; and thus, too, our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the State because he takes

care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting, too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance, but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. In doing good, again, we are unlike others; we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving, favors. Now, he who confers a favor is the firmer friend, because he would fain by kindness keep alive the memory of an obligation; but the recipient is colder in his feelings because he knows that in requiting another's generosity he will not be winning gratitude, but only paying a debt. We alone do good to our neighbors, not upon a calculation of interest, but in the confidence of freedom and in a frank and fearless spirit. To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the

power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the State. For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages; we shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment, although his representation of the facts will not bear the light of day. For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. Such is the city for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf.

I have dwelt upon the greatness of Athens because I want to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than those who enjoy none of these privileges, and to establish by manifest proof

the merit of these men whom I am now commemorating. Their loftiest praise has been already spoken. For in magnifying the city I have magnified them, and men like them whose virtues made her glorious. And of how few Hellenes can it be said, as of them, that their deeds when weighed in the balance have been found equal to their fame! Methinks that a death such as theirs has been gives the true measure of a man's worth; it may be the first revelation of his virtues, but is at any rate their final seal. For even those who come short in other ways may justly plead the valor with which they have fought for their country; they have blotted out the evil with the good, and have benefited the State more by their public services than they have injured her by their private actions. None of these men were enervated by wealth or hesitated to resign the pleasures of life; none of them put off the evil day in the hope, natural to poverty, that a man, though poor, may one day become rich. But, deeming that the punishment of their enemies was sweeter than any of these things, and that they could fall in no nobler cause, they determined at the hazard of their lives to be honorably avenged, and to leave the rest. They resigned to hope their unknown chance of happiness; but in the face of death they resolved to rely upon themselves alone. And when the moment came they were minded to resist and

suffer, rather than to fly and save their lives; they ran away from the word of dishonor, but on the battle-field their feet stood fast, and in an instant, at the height of their fortune, they passed away from the scene, not of their fear, but of their glory.

Such was the end of these men; they were worthy of Athens, and the living need not desire to have a more heroic spirit, although they may pray for a less fatal issue. The value of such a spirit is not to be expressed in words. Any one can discourse to you forever about the advantages of a brave defence which you know already. But instead of listening to him I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonor always present to them, and who, if ever they failed in an enterprise, would not allow their virtues to be lost to their country, but freely gave their lives to her as the fairest offering which they could present at her feast. The sacrifice which they collectively made was individually repaid to them; for they received again each one for himself a praise which grows not old, and the noblest of all sepulchres—I speak not of that in which their remains are laid, but of that in which their

glory survives and is proclaimed always and on every fitting occasion both in word and deed. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven, not on stone, but in the hearts of men. Make them your examples, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, do not weigh too nicely the perils of war. The unfortunate who has no hope of a change for the better has less reason to throw away his life than the prosperous who, if he survive, is always liable to a change for the worse, and to whom any accidental fall makes the most serious difference. To a man of spirit, cowardice and disaster coming together are far more bitter than death striking him unperceived at a time when he is full of courage and animated by the general hope.

Wherefore I do not now commiserate the parents of the dead who stand here; I would rather comfort them. You know that your life has been passed amid manifold vicissitudes; and that they may be deemed fortunate who have gained most honor, whether an honorable death like theirs, or an honorable sorrow like yours, and whose days have been so ordered that the term of their happiness is likewise the term of their life. I know how

hard it is to make you feel this, when the good fortune of others will too often remind you of the gladness which once lightened your hearts. And sorrow is felt at the want of those blessings, not which a man never knew, but which were a part of his life before they were taken from him. Some of you are of an age at which they may hope to have other children, and they ought to bear their sorrow better; not only will the children who may hereafter be born make them forget their own lost ones, but the city will be doubly a gainer. She will not be left desolate, and she will be safer. For a man's counsel cannot have equal weight or worth, when he alone has no children to risk in the general danger. To those of you who have passed their prime, I say: Congratulate yourselves that you have been happy during the greater part of your days; remember that your life of sorrow will not last long, and be comforted by the glory of those who are gone. For the love of honor alone is ever young, and not riches, as some say, but honor is the delight of men when they are old and useless.

To you who are the sons and brothers of the departed, I see that the struggle to emulate them will be an arduous one. For all men praise the dead, and, however preëminent your virtue may be, hardly will you be thought, I do not say to equal, but even to approach them. The living have

their rivals and detractors, but when a man is out of the way, the honor and good-will which he receives is unalloyed. And, if I am to speak of womanly virtues to those of you who will henceforth be widows, let me sum them up in one short admonition: To a woman not to show more weakness than is natural to her sex is a great glory, and not to be talked about for good or for evil among men.

I have paid the required tribute, in obedience to the law, making use of such fitting words as I had. The tribute of deeds has been paid in part; for the dead have been honorably interred, and it remains only that their children should be maintained at the public charge until they are grown up: this is the solid prize with which, as with a garland, Athens crowns her sons living and dead, after a struggle like theirs. For where the rewards of virtue are greatest, there the noblest citizens are enlisted in the service of the State. And now, when you have duly lamented, every one his own dead, you may depart.

Translated by B. Jowett, M.A., for "Thucydides," published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. Reprinted by permission.

ANTIPHON

Antiphon, the earliest of the ten Attic orators, was born in Attica in 480 B.C. He was the first Athenian logographer, or writer of speeches for money. Of his life before 411 B.C. nothing is directly known. He was the leading spirit of the Revolution of 411 B.C. and of the Council of the Four Hundred. Soon after the fall of the Four Hundred he was found guilty of treason and condemned to death. Thucydides (viii., 68) speaks of him "as a man second to no Athenian of his day in virtue, a proved master of device and of expression."

Fifteen speeches attributed to Antiphon are now extant, all on trials for murder, but only three on real causes. The remaining are called Tetralogies, each of which forms a set of four speeches, two each for the defendant and the accuser. The most important of his speeches is that On the Murder of Herodes.

Antiphon represents the early or "austere" style of Attic oratory, of which the characteristics are dignity, fondness for antithesis, bold but not florid imagery, appeal to the feelings, and careful attention to invention and arrangement.

The best edition of Antiphon is that of Blass, Teubner, Leipzig, 1892. On his life, style, and works, see Jebb, *Attic Orators*, i., pp. 1–70; Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, i., pp. 91–203.

ON THE MURDER OF HERODES

PERORATION

Antiphon.

Herodes, an Athenian citizen living at Mitylene, had occasion to make a voyage to Ænos, a port of Thrace. He sailed from Mitylene with the man who was afterward accused of having murdered him. A tempest obliged Herodes and his companion to put in at Marathon and change their open vessel for a decked one. After they had been drinking together on board, Herodes went ashore at night and was never seen again. Upon the defendant's return to Mitylene he was accused of having murdered Herodes. It was necessary for the trial to take place at Athens. The speech for the defendant was prepared by Antiphon. Its date was probably 417 or 416 B.C. The case was tried by an ordinary dicastery under the presidency of the Eleven. We here present the Peroration: the prisoner argues that his innocence is vindicated by the absence of signs of the divine anger; and he reminds the judges that in any case justice cannot be thwarted by his acquittal, since it will still be possible to bring him before the Areopagus.

YOU have heard, then, judges, all that can be shown from human proofs and testimonies. It is right also to weigh carefully the tokens which the gods have given of their will, before casting your votes. For by especial observance of the divine signs, you will with safety direct public affairs, both those with their appointed dangers, and those outside the scope of peril. Similarly for private matters, one must deem omens no less certain and no less powerful.

"You doubtless know that often ere now men red-handed or otherwise polluted have, by entering the same ship, destroyed with themselves those who were pure towards the gods; and that others, escaping death, have incurred the extremity of danger through such men. Many again, on standing beside the sacrifice, have been discovered to be impure and hinderers of the solemn rites. Now, in all such cases, an opposite fortune has been mine. First, all who have sailed with me have had excellent voyages; then, whenever I have assisted at a sacrifice, it has, in every instance, been most favorable. These facts I claim as strong evidence touching the present charge and the falsity of the prosecutor's accusations."

I understand also this, gentlemen of the Court, that if the witnesses had testified against me that something unpropitious had occurred when I was present in a ship or in temples, they would have used this very thing as the strongest testimony against me, and would have taken the divine portents as the clearest proofs of the trustworthiness of their cause. But now, though the omens have been contrary to their assertions, and though the witnesses testify that what I say is true, and what they accuse is false,—they, nevertheless, bid you distrust the witnesses and say that you should believe the words which they speak. Other men refute words by actions, but these men seek

to establish actions as untrustworthy by mere words.

On all the charges that I recall, gentlemen, I have spoken my defence. And I anticipate an acquittal at your hands. For the arguments which entitle me to your votes also conform to your laws and your oaths, and you have sworn to pronounce sentence according to law. Now, I am not liable to the laws under which I was arrested, while as to the acts with which I am charged, I can still be brought to trial in the legal form. But if two trials have been made out of one, the fault is not mine, but that of my accusers. When, however, my enemies have left me the chance of a second trial, surely you, the impartial awarders of justice, will never pronounce on the present issue a premature verdict of murder.

Do not do it, O judges. But leave some scope for that other witness—Time, with whose aid those who seek the precise knowledge of events find it most correctly. I should certainly desire, judges, that in such cases of alleged murder the sentence should be in accordance with the laws, but that in every possible instance the investigation should be regulated by justice. For so much the better would the facts be known. Most trials are allies to the truth and very hostile to calumny. But a charge of murder, if not correctly investigated, is stronger than both justice and truth. If

you condemn me, though I am not a murderer nor subject to punishment, I must abide by the sentence and the laws. And no one would dare, through confidence in his own innocence, to contravene the sentence when once pronounced, or, if conscious of his guilt, to rebel against the law. A man must yield, not only to the truth itself, but also to a verdict which contradicts the truth,—especially if there be no one to support his cause.

This is why, in trials of this kind, you have established, in addition to the laws, oaths and sacrifices and notices to the accused. These and other such things obtain in murder trials, in which the procedure differs much from that in other trials, because in capital accusations it is of the utmost importance by thorough investigation to insure the course of justice. To judge correctly is to avenge him who has been wronged, but to declare an innocent man a murderer is crime against the law and impiety toward the gods.

And it is a less serious matter that the prosecutor should accuse wrongly than that you, the judges, should decide wrongly. For their accusation achieves no result; the result depends on you and the trial. Now, if you, in the penalty itself, should not reach a correct verdict, it is impossible that I should refer the mistake to any tribunal and be acquitted. How then might you render exact justice in this case? If you permit the accusers,

when they have first taken the usual oath, to bring accusation, and allow me to defend myself in answer to their accusation. But how will you permit it? By granting me an acquittal. I do not thus escape your judgment, for you will in the other trial vote concerning me. And to you, having now spared me, it will be possible in the other trial to do what you please with me, but having put me to death you will not have another opportunity even to deliberate concerning me. And indeed, if some mistake must be made, unjust acquittal would be less culpable than unjust condemnation. For the one is merely a mistake; the other is also an impiety. In which matter one ought to have much forethought when about to perform an irreparable deed. In revocable judicial matters one can err with less peril, listening to the voice of anger or of calumny; having regretted his mistake, one can revise his decision. But in cases where it is impossible to repair an injustice, knowledge and repentance of one's error merely add to the injury. Many among you have already repented of having put to death the innocent. Yet in instances where you, having been deceived, have regretted your mistake, verily you ought to put to death those who deceived you.

Then there is indulgence for involuntary offences, but voluntary offences are unpardonable. For involuntary wrong, men of Athens, is the result of

chance ; voluntary wrong of purpose. But is there anything more voluntary than to commit straightway a crime on which one has resolved ? And in very truth, it is essentially the same thing whether one puts another to death unjustly with his hand, or with his vote.

Athenians, be well assured that I should never have entered your city had I been conscious of such a crime ; but now I am here with confidence in the justice of my cause than which I could have no more worthy associate, conscious of having done nothing criminal nor impious in the sight of the gods. The soul thus penetrated with a sense of its innocence is willing to endure suffering and sustains the failing body which it animates. But to the guilty, remorse is the first enemy ; for while physical vigor still lasts, the soul gives way, recognizing that this has come upon her as the punishment of her crimes. As for me, I appear before you with all the calm of conscious innocence.

The calumny of the accusers is nothing surprising ; this is their task ; it is yours not to be convinced by their unjust accusations. For on the one hand, if you hearken to me, you will have opportunity to repent and later punishment will be the remedy for this mistake ; but if you yield to the persuasions of my enemies to carry out what they wish, you will commit an irremediable error. The time intervening is short, when you will do

lawfully what my accusers are trying to persuade you to decide unlawfully. This is a judicial procedure demanding, not haste, but careful deliberation. On the present occasion, then, take a survey of the case; on the next, sit in judgment on the witnesses; form now an opinion, but defer a decision on the facts.

It is the easiest matter to testify falsely against a man defending himself against capital punishment. If the judges are persuaded to condemn to death, with the body perishes all hope of vengeance. For not even friends will still be willing to exact punishment in behalf of a dead man. And though they should wish it, what will that mean to the man in the tomb? Grant me, therefore, now your votes. And in the trial for murder, these men, having sworn the customary oath, will accuse me, and you will decide concerning me according to the existing laws; then only, if I am condemned, will it be impossible for me to say that I was put to death unjustly. But I beg this of you, with due regard to your conscience as well as to my own right. In your oath is also my safety. Obeying whichever of these you wish, acquit me.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

ANDOCIDES

Andocides was born at Athens about 440 B.C., of an aristocratic family. In 415 B.C. he was involved in the famous trial for mutilating the statues of Hermes, and, to save himself and his kinsmen, he gave information against his aristocratic accomplices. Having been condemned to a partial loss of civic rights, he left Athens, and adopted a merchant's life. In 411 B.C. he made his first attempt to reëstablish himself in Athens, but was unsuccessful. Under the amnesty of 403 B.C. he was allowed to return to Athens, and was readmitted to the employments and privileges of a citizen. In the course of the Corinthian War he was sent, in 390 B.C., to Sparta to negotiate peace, and brought back the draft of a treaty, for the acceptance of which he pleaded in vain. He is said to have been banished through the suspicion of "laconism" and to have died in exile.

Andocides differs from all the rest of the ten Attic orators in that he is not artistic. Yet he was a vigorous speaker, a natural orator of unusual gifts; his diction is plain; in the arrangement of his subject-matter he is simple and inartificial; he is particularly strong in his narrative, which he diversifies with anecdote and enlivens with graphic description.

The speeches extant under his name are four in number. Of these, the speech against Alcibiades is spurious. Of the other three, the speech On his Return was delivered when he made the attempt to be restored to his civic rights in 411 B.C., that On the Peace with the Lacedæmonians after his mission to Sparta in 390 B.C., and the third, On the Mysteries, in 399 B.C., in answer to the charge of unlawful participation in the Mysteries.

A good text of Andocides is that of Blass, Teubner, Leipzig, 1890; see annotated English editions of *De Mysteriis,* etc., by Hickie and by Marchant (1889); a German translation by A. E. Becker, Leipzig, 1832. On his life, style, and works, see Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit,* i., pp. 280–339; Jebb, *Attic Orators,* i., pp. 71–141.

ON THE MYSTERIES

[Selection.] *Andocides.*

Date, 399 B.C. Andocides under a guarantee of impunity had laid information in 415 B.C. against certain persons whom he accused of complicity in the mutilation of the Hermæ. Subsequently the decree of Isotimides was passed, excluding from the market-place and the temple all who had committed impiety and had confessed it. Andocides, having returned to Athens under the general amnesty, was later accused by his enemies with having broken the decree of Isotimides by attending the Mysteries and entering the temple at Eleusis. In order to prove that he came under this decree, they had to show that he had committed impiety in 415 B.C.

Andocides' speech is to show that he had not done so, either by profaning the Mysteries or by mutilating the Hermæ. His account of the Hermæ affair is the most important part of the speech, historically and otherwise, and we present herewith a translation of it.

MEN of Athens, I shall now fulfil my promise in regard to the mutilation of the Hermæ and the investigation which resulted therefrom, recounting all that occurred from the beginning. When Teucer had come from Megara, he gave information, on a guarantee of impunity, concerning the Mysteries, and told what he knew about the persons who mutilated the images, and gave in his return the names of eighteen men. So soon as these men were indicted, some of them went into exile, others were arrested and put to death on the testimony of Teucer. Of these men now some

have returned and are present here; of the executed there are many relatives. Of these let whoever wishes rise up and contradict me in my speech if he can assert that ever any one of these men became an exile or was condemned to death through me.

After this occurrence, Pisander and Charicles, members of the Commission of Inquiry, seeming at that time to be very well disposed to the people, said that what had happened was not the work of a few men, but had been done with a view to the overthrow of the Commonwealth; that still further investigations must be made, and they must not stop with what had been accomplished. And the city at that time was in such a state that when the herald had summoned the Senate to go into the Council Chamber and took down the signal, every man straightway fled from the market-place, fearing lest he might be arrested. Then Diocleides, aroused by the evils of the city, laid an impeachment before the Council, claiming that he knew the men who had mutilated the Hermæ, and they were to the number of three hundred; and stated how he had chanced to become an eye-witness of the plot.

Here I beg you, gentlemen, to pay close heed to what I say, and to recall whether I speak the truth, and to advise each other. For his words were spoken among you, and you alone are my witnesses.

He said that he had a slave at Laurium, and that he had occasion to go there for a payment due him. On this account, he said, he had risen before day, being deceived as to the hour, as it was full moon. He was walking along, and when he had come to the gateway of the Dionysus precinct, he saw several persons descending from the Odeon into the Orchestra. Afraid of them, he drew into the shade, and crouched down between the pillar and the column with the bronze statue of the General. From there he saw men, about three hundred in number, standing around in groups of fifteen or twenty. And seeing them in the moonlight, he recognized the faces of most of them. Thus, in the first place, judges, he assumed this story—a most extraordinary one—in order, I fancy, that it might rest with him to include in this list any Athenian he pleased, or at pleasure to exempt him. After he saw this, he continued, he went to Laurium, and on the next day he heard that the Hermæ had been mutilated; he knew then straightway that it was the work of these men.

Having returned to the city, he found that a Commission of Inquiry had been chosen, and a hundred minas reward offered for information. He saw Euphemus, the brother of Callias, the son of Telecles, sitting in his forge, and took him to the temple of Hephæstus, and told him the story I have told you, namely, that he had seen us on the

preceding night. Furthermore, he saw no reason why he should prefer to get money from the State rather than from us, so that he might hold us as his friends. Thereupon Euphemus answered that he was obliged to him for the information, and added: "Now, pray, come to the house of Leogoras, that you and I may there confer with Andocides and the other needful persons." He said that the next day he was there, and was just knocking at the door, when my father happened to be coming out, and said to him: "Is it you whom the company here are expecting? Well, surely, one ought not to slight such friends," and with these words he was gone. In such a manner he sought to ruin my father, showing him up as a fellow-conspirator. We told him that we had concluded to give him two talents of silver instead of the hundred minas from the public treasury, and if our plans were successful, he should become one of us; and we agreed to exact and receive pledges. And he answered that he would think it over. We, however, bade him go to the house of Callias, son of Telecles, in order that he also might be present. Thus, moreover, he sought to ruin my brother-in-law. He added that he came to Callias's and concluded an agreement with us; he gave us pledges on the Acropolis, and we agreed to give him the money during the ensuing month, but failed to keep our word or to pay. For this rea-

son he had come to give information regarding what had happened.

Such was his impeachment, men of Athens. And he gave in writing the names of the men whom he said he knew, two and forty, first Mantitheus and Apsephion, both senators, who were present, and the rest. Then Pisander arose and said that the decree passed in the archonship of Scamandrius ought to be suspended, and the men denounced put to the torture, in order that night might not fall before all the conspirators were known. The Council cried aloud that he had well spoken. As Mantitheus and Apsephion heard this, they seated themselves on the altar, imploring not to be put to the torture, but to be allowed out on bail and to be tried. Only with difficulty was this request granted them. Scarcely had they obtained bondsmen, when they mounted their horses and hastened away to the camp of the enemy, leaving in the lurch their bondsmen, who became liable to the same penalties as those for whom they had become securities. The Council, after retiring to secret conference, had us seized and put in the pillory. Then they summoned the generals before them, and ordered them to proclaim that those Athenians who lived in the city should proceed under arms to the market-place, those within the Long Walls to the temple of Theseus, those in the Piræus to the market-place of Hippodamus; that

before dawn the knights should sound the trumpet call to the temple of the Dioscuri, that the Senate should go to the Acropolis and sleep there, and that the Presidents should sleep in the Rotunda.

The Bœotians, having ascertained what was occurring at Athens, had taken the field and were on the frontier, and Diocleides, the cause of all these evils, they crowned with olive and brought on a chariot to the Prytaneum as a preserver of the city, and he was entertained there.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

MOTIVE FOR THE DISCLOSURE OF ANDOCIDES

When we had all been imprisoned in the same place; when night had come, and the gaol had been closed; there came, to one his mother, his sister to another, to another his wife and children; and there arose a piteous sound of weeping and lamentation for the troubles of the hour. Then Charmides (he was my cousin, of my own age, and had been brought up with me in our house from childhood) said to me: "Andocides, you see how serious our present dangers are; and though hitherto I have always shrunk from saying anything to annoy you, I am forced by our present misfortune to speak now. All your intimates and companions except us your relations have either

been put to death on the charges which threaten us with destruction, or have taken to flight and pronounced themselves guilty. If you have heard anything about this affair which has occurred, speak it out, and save our lives—save yourself in the first place, then your father, whom you ought to love very dearly, then your brother-in-law, the husband of your only sister,—your other kinsmen, too, and near friends, so many of them; and me also, who have never given you annoyance in all my life, but am most zealous for you and for your interests, whenever anything is to be done." When Charmides said this, judges, and when the others besought and entreated me severally, I thought to myself,—"Most miserable and unfortunate of men, am I to see my own kinsfolk perish undeservedly—to see their lives sacrificed and their property confiscated, and, in addition to this, their names written up on tablets as sinners against the gods,—men who are wholly innocent of the matter,—am I to see, moreover, three hundred Athenians doomed to undeserved destruction, and the State involved in the most serious calamities, and men nourishing suspicion against each other,—or shall I tell the Athenians just what I heard from Euphiletos himself, the real culprit?"

Translated by R. C. Jebb, M.A., for "The Attic Orators," published by Macmillan & Co. Reprinted by permission.

LYSIAS

Lysias was born at Athens about 459 B.C. His father, Cephalus, was a Syracusan, who settled at Athens during the time of Pericles. He was a man of considerable wealth. At the age of fifteen, Lysias went with his brother, Polemarchus, to Thurii, in southern Italy. Here, it is said, he studied rhetoric under Tisias of Syracuse. After the failure of the Sicilian expedition, the Anti-Athenian faction coming into power at Thurii, Lysias and his brother fled to Athens in 412 B.C. The following seven years were passed in great prosperity, and the brothers acquired wealth by the manufacture of shields. But their means excited the cupidity of the Thirty Tyrants. Polemarchus was put to death, and Lysias fled. He assisted the exiles in their return, and the privileges granted to resident aliens were restored to him. He now devoted himself to writing speeches for the law courts, more than two hundred being attributed to him. His activity as a logographer falls between the years 403 and 380 B.C. It seems probable that Lysias died about 380 B.C., at the age of about eighty.

"His distinctive qualities are a delicate mastery of the purest Attic, a subtle power of expressing character, a restrained sense of humor, and a certain flexibility of mind which enables him under the most trying circumstances to write with almost unfailing tact and charm,—with that *charis,* hardly to be analyzed save in so far as felicity of expression and an essential urbanity are implied in it, which the old critics felt in him." (Jebb.)

Thirty-four speeches of Lysias are extant, either entire or represented by large fragments. Two of these are epideictic,—the Olympiac Oration preserved in Dionysius, and the Funeral Oration now generally regarded as spurious; one is

deliberative,—the Plea for the Constitution; the rest are forensic, and only one of these was delivered by Lysias himself. This is his masterpiece, the oration against Eratosthenes, who had been one of the Thirty Tyrants, and who was responsible for the execution of Polemarchus.

The best edition of the text is that of Scheibe, Teubner, Leipzig, 1888; important annotated editions of selected orations are those of Schuckburg and of Bristol; an English translation of most of the orations is that of Gillies (1778).

On his life, style, and works, see Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, i., pp. 339–644; Jebb, *Attic Orators*, i., pp. 142–312.

AGAINST ERATOSTHENES

Lysias.

The brother of Lysias, Polemarchus, had been put to death by the Thirty Tyrants. Eratosthenes was the member of the Thirty who had arrested him and led him off to prison. In the speech, Lysias, who is himself the speaker, charges Eratosthenes expressly with the murder of his brother, and generally with his share in the crimes of the Thirty. The speech was delivered in 403 B.C., shortly after the formal restoration of the democracy. It falls naturally into two parts. The first and shorter division deals with the specific charge against Eratosthenes; the second, with his political character and the crimes of the Thirty. We here present the first part dealing with the murder of Polemarchus, and the eloquent peroration.

IT is an easy matter to begin this accusation, but to end it will be attended with no small difficulty; for the crimes of Eratosthenes are so great in magnitude and so many in number, that by speaking falsehood I could not make the accusation worse than the facts, nor, however much I wished, would I be able to tell all the truth; but it is necessary either for the accuser to give out from weariness, or for the allotted time to fail.

And I believe that our experience, as accuser of Eratosthenes, will be contrary to all precedent. Heretofore, it was necessary for the accusers to show what enmity existed between themselves

and the accused; but now we must inquire from the defendants what enmity they had against the Commonwealth, that led them to sin so enormously against it. I do not speak thus, Athenians, as if I had no personal resentments nor grievances against the Thirty: I only mean that every one has abundant causes for indignation against them, either on private or on public grounds.

By the crimes that have been committed, jurors, I, who never before pleaded in my own nor in any other cause, am now compelled to undertake this accusation against Eratosthenes; and so I have frequently been disheartened, for fear that on account of inexperience I should make the accusation for my brother and myself unworthily or unskilfully. Nevertheless, I shall endeavor, in as few words as possible, to establish the truth of these charges.

My father, Cephalus, was persuaded by Pericles to settle in this country, and lived here thirty years; and neither we nor he ever went to law against any one nor were accused ourselves; but we so lived under the democracy that we neither wronged others nor were wronged by others. But when the Thirty, being corrupt men and mercenary accusers, came into power, they affirmed that it was necessary to rid the city of wrong-doers and that the rest of the citizens should turn to virtue and justice. Though they made such pretences,

Lysias.

From the bust in the Capitol, Rome.

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they did not conform their actions to them, as I, first speaking of my own affairs and afterwards of yours, shall endeavor to remind you.

Theognis and Piso said among the Thirty, in regard to the foreign residents, that they were dissatisfied with the constitution. It seemed, therefore, an excellent pretext to bring them to punishment, but in fact to get their money; at any rate, the city was poor, and the government was in need of funds. And without difficulty they persuaded their hearers; for they deemed it of no consequence to put men to death, but the amassing of wealth they regarded of prime importance. They decided, therefore, to arrest ten resident aliens, including among them two poor men, in order that they might have the plea in regard to the remaining eight that these measures had not been taken from mercenary motives, but in the interests of the government,—just as they might defend any other measure adopted for satisfactory reasons. Accordingly, distributing the houses, they began their visits.

They found me entertaining a party of friends. Having driven them off, they left me in charge of Piso, while the rest went to the shield-manufactory to take an inventory of the slaves. Left alone with Piso, I asked him if he would take a sum of money to save me. He said he would, if it were considerable. I said that I was ready to give him

a talent of silver; and he agreed to do it. I knew, Athenians, that he regarded neither gods nor men, nevertheless, in my present straits, it seemed to me absolutely necessary to take an oath from him. And when he swore, imprecating destruction upon himself and his children, that in return for the talent he would get me off safe, I went into my chamber and opened my money-box. Piso, observing this, came in, and seeing what was in the box, called up two attendants and ordered them to take its whole contents. And when he had, not what I agreed to give him, gentlemen of the Court, but three talents of silver, four hundred cyziceni, a hundred darics, and four silver cups, I begged him to leave me travelling expenses. He said that I might consider myself lucky if I got off with my life.

As Piso and I were coming out of the house, Melobius and Mnesitheides met us, who had returned from the manufactory. Overtaking us at the door, they inquired where we were going. Piso said to my brother's, in order to examine his house. They ordered him then to go on, but bade me accompany them to Damnippus's.

And Piso, approaching me, bade me keep silence and be of good cheer, that he also was going to come there. They found Theognis there with other prisoners, to whom they gave me, and went off again. Being in such a strait, it seemed to me

best to neglect no means of escape, as if death were already facing me.

So having called Damnippus, I spoke to him as follows: "You happen to be a friend of mine; I have come to your house; I have done no wrong; because I have property I perish; will you then in sympathy for my wretched plight do all that lies in your power for my safety?" And he promised that he would. But he thought it would be best to mention it to Theognis, who, he was sure, would do anything for money. While he was talking with Theognis (as I happened to be acquainted with the house, and knew there were two doors), I decided to try to save myself in this way, deeming that if I escaped I should get off safe; but if I were caught I thought that, if Theognis should be persuaded by Damnippus to receive a bribe, I should none the less escape, but if not I should die all the same. Having thought this out, I began my flight, while they were stationing a guard at the hall-door. Though there were three doors it was necessary for me to go through, all happened to be opened. Having reached the house of Archeneus, the shipmaster, I sent him to the city to inquire about my brother; and he returned and said that Eratosthenes had seized him in the street and led him off to prison.

And I, having ascertained this, sailed the following night for Megara. The Thirty gave the com-

mand to Polemarchus—the usual one with them—to drink the hemlock, before telling the accusation on account of which he was about to die; so far was he from being tried and allowed to make a defence.

And when he was brought out of the prison, dead, although we had three houses, from no one of them did they allow the funeral to take place, but hired a mean tenement, and there laid out the corpse. And though we had much clothing, they gave none to us, asking it for his burial, but of his friends one gave a cloak, another a pillow, and others, what each chanced to have he presented for his burial. And although there were seven hundred shields belonging to us, together with silver and gold and bronze and finery and furniture and female apparel, to an amount beyond what they ever imagined they would possess, and, in addition, a hundred and twenty slaves (of which they kept the best, and the rest they handed over for the benefit of the treasury), they reached such a pitch of covetousness and greed, that they made an exhibition of their character. For from the ears of Polemarchus's wife, Melobius, as soon as he entered the house, took the golden earrings which she happened to be wearing.

And not in the least portion of our property did we obtain compassion from them. But they so wronged us because of our money as others

would not have done who were incensed because of great injuries, although we did not deserve such treatment from the city, but paid all the expenses of the choruses, and many special taxes, and acquitted ourselves as orderly citizens, and performed all the legal obligations of resident aliens, and had no private enemies, but ransomed many of the Athenians from their enemies. Of such treatment did they deem us worthy, who showed more attachment to the city as resident aliens than they did as citizens.

For they drove many of the citizens to take refuge with the enemy, and putting many to death unjustly, left them without burial; and many who were in possession of civic rights they deprived of their citizenship; and the daughters of many about to receive marriage portions they prevented from being married. And now they have reached such a state of insolence, that they have come here to defend themselves, declaring that they have done nothing bad or shameless; and I wish that they spoke the truth, for were it so, no small part of this advantage would come to me.

For, as I said before, Eratosthenes put my brother to death, although he had suffered no personal wrongs at his hands, nor had seen him doing any injury to the city, but merely gratifying to the full his own lawlessness.

I wish to put him on the witness-stand and to

question him, jurors; for this is my opinion: for this fellow's benefit, I deem it impious to hold conversation even with another, concerning him; but to his injury, I conceive it consistent with self-respect and piety to speak even to himself. Rise up, then, and answer me what I ask you.

Did you arrest Polemarchus or not? "Fearing, what was commanded by the Thirty, I did." Were you in the Council Chamber when speeches were made about us? "I was." Did you support those advocating to kill, or oppose? "I opposed." That we might not be put to death? "That you might not be put to death." Thinking we should be suffering unjustly or justly? "Unjustly."

So then, O basest of all men, did you oppose that you might save us, but arrest that you might kill? And when the majority of you were masters of our safety, do you say you opposed those wishing to kill us, but when it depended on you alone to save Polemarchus or not, you led him off to prison? Then because, as you say, by opposing you availed nothing, do you claim to be considered an honest man; but, because you arrested and put to death, do you not think that you ought to pay the penalty to me and these present?

Nay, moreover, it is not reasonable to believe him in this (admitting that he tells the truth in affirming that he protested), that he was ordered

to kill. He will not say, I presume, that, in the case of the resident aliens, they took a pledge from him. To whom, pray, was it less likely to be commanded than to one who happened to oppose them and expressed his opinion? For who was less likely to carry out their instructions than he who protested against what they wished to be done? Furthermore, it seems to me that there is sufficient excuse for the other Athenians to throw the blame of what has occurred upon the Thirty. But how is it reasonable for you to accept the excuses of the Thirty themselves, if they throw the blame upon themselves?

If indeed there had been in the city some authority stronger than that by which he was commanded to put men to death unjustly, perhaps you would reasonably have pardon for him. But now, from whom in the world are you ever to exact punishment, if it shall be possible for the Thirty to say that they did the things commanded by the Thirty?

And, moreover, it was not in his house, but in the street, where he might have let him escape without breaking the decree of the Thirty, that he arrested him and took him to prison; but you are all angry even with those who entered your house, making a search for you or for anything of yours.

But if it is necessary to make allowances for those who put others to death for their own safety,

you would more justly pardon them ; for they incurred peril if they failed to go when sent, or if when they had found the person at home they denied it. But Eratosthenes might have said that he did not meet Polemarchus, or, at all events, that he did not see him ; for these statements could not be disproved or tested, so that they could not have been investigated even by those enemies who wished it.

But you ought, Eratosthenes, if, as you say, you were an honest man, far rather to have become an informer to those who were going to be put to death unjustly, than to arrest those who were going to suffer death unjustly ; but now your deeds have become manifest, not as of one vexed, but as of one pleased, at what took place.

And so ought these jurors from your deeds rather than from your words to cast their votes, taking what they know to have actually happened as sure proofs of what was then said, since it is not possible to punish witnesses about these things. Since, so far from being allowed to assist at their councils, it was impossible for us even to remain in our own homes. Hence it is in the power of those who worked all possible evils to the State, to say everything good about themselves. I do not shrink, however, from meeting you on this point, but I acknowledge, if you wish, that you opposed them ; but I wonder what, in heaven's name, you would

have done if you had been in harmony with the Thirty, seeing that, when claiming you protested, you killed Polemarchus.

Come, now, what would you do if you chanced to be brothers or even sons of his? Would you have acquitted him? For Eratosthenes, gentlemen, must prove one of two things,—either that he did not arrest Polemarchus, or that he did this justly. But he has acknowledged that he arrested him unjustly, so that he has made your decision about him easy.

And, further, many, both citizens and strangers, have come to ascertain what opinion you will hold concerning these men. Some of whom, being your own citizens, will go away having learned either that they will suffer punishment for what wrongs they have committed, or that, having succeeded in what they were aiming at, they will become tyrants of the city; but, if they fail, they will be no worse off than the rest of you. The foreigners in the city will know whether they banished justly the Thirty from their cities, or unjustly, for if they who suffered ill shall acquit the Thirty after having arrested them, surely these strangers will think that they have been overzealous in chastising them in your behalf.

Is it not then a hard thing if you punished with death the generals who conquered in a naval battle, because they said that on account of the

storm they were not able to rescue their comrades from the stormy sea, deeming that you ought to exact punishment from them because of the valor of the dead; but these men, who as private citizens did all that lay in their power to bring disaster on your fleet, and who, when they were established in power, acknowledge of their own free will that they put to death many of the citizens without trial,—now ought they not to be punished, both themselves and their children, with the direst punishments?

PERORATION

I wish to conclude, after recalling a few things to the recollection of both parties,—the City Party and the Piræus Party,—in order that, having before you as warnings the disasters which have come upon you through these men, you may pass sentence.

And first, you of the Town, reflect that by these men you were so severely governed that you were compelled to wage such a war upon brothers, and sons, and citizens, that having been vanquished, you are the equals of the conquerors, but conquering, you would have been slaves of the tyrants.

These men, on the one hand, from their administration, would have acquired wealth for their own houses; you, through the war with each

other, have impoverished yours. For they did not deign to have you thrive along with them, though they forced you to become odious in their company; having reached such a pitch of arrogance that, instead of seeking to win your loyalty by sharing with you their prizes, they fancied themselves friendly if they shared with you their dishonors.

Wherefore do you, now that you are in security, to the utmost of your power take vengeance on them, both for yourselves and for the men of the Piræus, reflecting that these men, villains though they are, were once your masters, but that now you are citizens with the best of men, fighting against the enemy and taking counsel in the interest of the State; and remembering the foreign troops, whom these men posted on the Acropolis, as sentinels of their despotism and your servitude. And to you, though much more might be said, I say only this much.

But you of the Piræus, remember, in the first place, your arms—how, after fighting many a battle on foreign soil, you were deprived of your arms, not by the enemy, but by these men in time of peace; how you were proclaimed exiles from the city bequeathed to you by your fathers; and how, when in exile, they demanded your surrender of the cities.

In return for these things, show resentment, as

you resented them when you went into exile; and be mindful also of the other evils which you have suffered at their hands—how some from the market-place, some from the temples they cruelly seized and put to a violent death; how others were torn from children, and parents, and wives, and were compelled to become their own murderers; and they did not even allow them to receive the common decencies of burial, deeming their own empire to be surer than the vengeance from on high.

And those of you who escaped death, after having experienced perils in many places, and wanderings to many cities, and expulsion from all, beggared of the necessaries of life, with children left in that fatherland which had become hostile soil, or in the land of strangers, through many opposing influences, have come to the Piræus. And though dangers many and great confronted you, being honorable men, you freed some and others you restored to their fatherland.

Had you been unfortunate and failed in those aims, you yourselves would now be exiles in fear of suffering what you suffered before. And neither temples nor altars would have availed you against wrong on account of the character of these men, which things are a source of safety even to evil-doers. And your children, as many as were here, would have been outraged by these

men, and those in a foreign land, for the smallest debt, would have been enslaved from the lack of those to assist them.

I do not wish to speak, however, of what might have been, seeing that what these men have done is beyond my power to tell; for it is the work, not of one accuser, nor of two, but of many. Nevertheless, there is in me no lack of indignation —for the temples which these men have bartered away or defiled by entering them; for the city which they impoverished; for the arsenals which they dismantled; for the dead whom you must vindicate by their death, since you could not succor them when alive.

And I fancy they are listening to us, and will know that you are voting, feeling that those who acquit these men have pronounced sentence upon them, but as many as exact retribution from these men have taken vengeance in their names.

I shall cease accusing—you have heard—seen—suffered; you have them—judge.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

THE OLYMPIAC ORATION

Lysias.

This is a fragment of an oration delivered by Lysias at one of the great Panhellenic festivals of Olympia, where poets and orators had opportunity to speak of themes common to Greece. It was spoken in the year 388 B.C., the year before the Peace of Antalcidas. Two powers, hostile to Greece, had been rapidly growing. The naval strength of Persia in the East was greater than it had been for a century ; Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, was spreading his supremacy over Sicily, and the Greek towns of Italy were threatened. To this very festival he had sent a magnificent embassy, hoping to obtain recognition. But Lysias warns the assembled Greeks that in Dionysius they must recognize one of their two greatest enemies. He urges them to united effort against the two foreign foes.

HERCULES is worthy of lasting memory, gentlemen, not only for his many other noble deeds, but especially because, out of love of Greece, he inaugurated these Olympic Games. In his time, the Greek cities were unfavorably disposed toward each other. But after he had put down the tyrants, and restrained the insolent, in the most beautiful spot of Greece he instituted contests in athletics, stimulated rivalry in wealth, and encouraged display of intellect, in order that for the sake of all these benefits we might assemble in the same place, to see some things and to hear others. For he deemed that the gathering in this place would become to the Greeks the beginning of their friendship for each other.

Hercules indeed fostered these interests; but I am not here, like the Sophists, to dispute on subtleties nor to cavil about words—these I consider are the tasks of worthless and needy declaimers, but it is the duty of a good man and worthy citizen to advise concerning the weightiest matters; seeing that Greece is in so sad a plight, that much of her territory is under the control of the barbarians, and many of her cities have been laid waste by tyrants.

If indeed we suffered this from weakness, we must needs rest content with our own misfortunes. But as it is the result of our strifes and contentions, why is it not right to cease from our feuds and arrest their consequences, knowing that rivalry indeed is for the prosperous, but that it is the task of the unfortunate to devise the best remedies? For we see that the dangers are great, and are encompassing us on every side. You know that the power is in the hands of those who rule the sea, that the king holds the funds, and the bodies of the Greeks are at the disposal of those who have the money to spend, and that he himself possesses many ships and the tyrant of Sicily many. It befits us then to desist from war with each other, and with united purpose to cleave to the public weal, feeling shame for the past and apprehension concerning the future. It befits us to imitate our forefathers, who caused the barbarians, when desirous of other people's property, to be

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stripped of their own, and who, by expelling the tyrants, made freedom common to all.

I wonder most of all at the Lacedæmonians, and at the policy which induces them to overlook the conflagration of Greece, they who are, with perfect justice, the leaders of the Greeks, both for their inborn gallantry and their skill in war. They alone dwell exempt from ravage, though unprotected by walls; unvexed by faction; strangers to defeat; with customs that never vary. On this account, there is hope that they will hold their freedom as something immortal, and having been in past dangers the deliverers of Greece, they will continue to be thoughtful of her future.

Now, the future can give us no better opportunity than the present. We need not consider the misfortunes of those who have perished as foreign to us, but as our very own; nor delay until both powers come down upon us, those of the Great King and the tyrant of Sicily, but while it is still possible, restrain their insolence. For who could not see how mighty they had become in our war with each other? Being therefore not only infamous, but also terrible, they have committed great wrongs and power has accrued to them from their evil deeds; yet the Greeks have taken no vengeance on them.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

FOR MANTITHEUS

Lysias.

Mantitheus was an ambitious young Athenian, who had done good service in war and wished to distinguish himself also in council by becoming a Senator. To obtain this office he had to pass the Scrutiny. The complaint was brought against him that his name appeared on the list of those who served as knights under the Thirty Tyrants, a disqualification for the office of Senator. Mantitheus first disproves this charge and then urges his positive merits by giving an account of his private life and character. "Perhaps nothing in Greek literature has a fresher or brighter charm than this short speech—the natural, wonderfully vivid expression of an attractive character."

IF I were not convinced, Senators, that my accusers are desirous, by every method, to do me injury, I should have felt very grateful to them for this present charge; for I deem that to men who have been unjustly slandered there can be nothing more advantageous than to be compelled to enter into a defence of their life and character. And I am so confident of my merits that I am persuaded that, though to some I may now appear in a doubtful or unfavorable light, when they have heard my defence they will alter their opinions and in future hold me in higher esteem.

What I ask of you, Senators, is this: If I merely prove that I am loyal to the present system of

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government, and that I was compelled to share the same dangers with yourselves, let not that bring me any particular favor; but if it shall appear that I have in every other respect lived worthily, and in a manner directly opposed to the opinion and assertion of my accusers, then I pray you to ratify my admission to the Senate, and to pass a silent condemnation on my foes.

First, I will show that I did not serve in the cavalry, that I was not in Athens in the time of the Thirty and did not share in their government.

Before the misfortune in the Hellespont, my father sent me to live at the court of Satyrus, King of Bosporus; I witnessed neither the destruction of the walls nor the revolution of the government; but I returned only five days before the exiles from Phylæ occupied the Piræus. It is not likely that, arriving at such a crisis, I should desire to share the dangers that threatened the Thirty Tyrants, nor did they appear to have any idea of sharing their government with those who, being far away, had no share in their crimes, but rather they even outraged those who helped them abolish the democracy.

And in the next place, judging from the official lists is foolish. For in these the names of many who acknowledge they served in the cavalry are not present, while some who were abroad at that time are enrolled. For on your return to the city

you ordered that the cavalry commanders should make a return of those who had served as knights in order that you might compel them to refund the sums paid to them for their equipment. And no one can show that my name was handed in by the commanders nor given to the revenue commissioners, nor that I had received any allowance. And yet it is plain to all that the commanders, if they were guilty of the least inaccuracy in their returns, were subjected to a fine themselves. So you should with more justice put your trust in the returns of these men than in the official lists.

Yet, Senators, if I had served in the cavalry I should not have denied it as if I had been guilty of a terrible offence, but I should claim if I am not convicted of injuring my fellow-citizens, that I ought to be passed, notwithstanding. And I see that you also have this opinion, as you have admitted several who were then knights into the Senate, and appointed many others generals and masters of horse. Believe then that I have made this defence for no other reason than that my adversaries have dared to heap calumny upon me openly.

I know not that it is necessary to say anything further regarding the charges. Yet it seems to me, Senators, in other trials the defence ought to be confined to the accusations; but in cases of scrutiny relating to public offices, it is proper to give

an account of one's whole life and behavior. I entreat you then to hear me with favor, and I shall make my defence in as few words as possible.

First of all, though my paternal estate had been reduced both by the misfortunes of my father and the calamity that befell the city, yet I gave my two sisters in marriage, each with a portion of thirty minas; and I so divided the property that my brother must confess that he received the best share of the inheritance. And in my relations with all others, I have so behaved that no one has ever brought complaint against me. So much for my private life.

Nor has my conduct in public life been less inoffensive. It is the best proof of it that all the young gamblers and drunkards and profligates are at variance with me. And it is just they who accuse and traduce me. Yet it is clear that if we had the same tastes they would have no such opinion of me.

No one can show, Senators, that I ever underwent a private lawsuit or a public prosecution or an impeachment before the Senate. Yet you see most men often engaged in such cases.

Last of all, see whether I have performed my duty to the city in military expeditions and the dangers of war. For, first, when you made the alliance with the Bœotians and it was necessary to send aid to Haliartus, I was selected by Ortho-

bulus to serve in the cavalry. But when I saw all thought the horsemen would be exposed to little danger, while the infantry would run the greatest risk, though there were many who, without being qualified, mounted on horseback, I came up to Orthobulus and asked to be erased from the roll, deeming it a disgrace to be in security while others were exposed to any danger.

Again, when the men of my deme were assembled before their march, I observed that there were many excellent and brave men who were destitute of all necessaries for the expedition; and I urged that those who were in better circumstances should provide equipment for the poor. For my own part, I gave two men thirty drachmas each; not that I was worth much, but to excite their generosity by my example.

After this, Senators, when the expedition to Corinth occurred, and all foresaw that the peril would be great, while others were declining to engage in it, I arranged to be posted in the front rank. And though my tribe was particularly unfortunate in the engagement and very many died on the field, I retreated after the gallant gentleman of Steiria, Thrasybulus, who has been reproaching all men with cowardice.

Not many days afterwards, when strong positions had been occupied in Corinth so that the enemy could not approach, and Agesilaus had

made an incursion into Bœotia, the archons voted to detach certain ranks to be sent to the relief of the allies. All were afraid (naturally enough, Senators, since they had no sooner been bravely delivered from one danger than they were to be exposed to another), but I begged the commander to send my company without submitting it to lot. If then some of you have resentment against those men who desire to be intrusted with State affairs, but ever run from danger, you could justly have no such opinion concerning me. For not only did I obey orders zealously, but I also exposed myself to voluntary dangers. And to this conduct I was urged, not because I deemed it a light matter to fight against the Lacedæmonians, but that if ever unjustly brought to trial, I might on this account have a better reputation for valor and in consequence get full justice.

Again, I have never shirked other expeditions and terms of garrison duty, but have always been among the first who took the field, and among the last who retreated. You ought from such things to judge those who live well and orderly, instead of hating one for wearing long hair. Habits of this sort neither injure the private citizen, nor the city at large, but you are benefited by those who of their own accord incur perils against the enemy. It is not right, Senators, either to love or to hate a man on account of his looks; you must judge of them by

their actions. For many, though their voice was low and their dress decorous, have been the cause of great evils, while others, who pay no attention to these things, have accomplished great blessings for you.

Finally, Senators, I perceive that some are dissatisfied because, at so early an age, I have ventured to speak in public, but the situation necessarily required it; then, too, I seem to myself to be somewhat more ambitiously disposed than I ought to be, both emulating my ancestors, who never abandoned the care of public affairs, and at the same time perceiving that you (for I must speak the truth) deem only such men worthy of respect. So, seeing you have this opinion, who would not be led on to speak and act for the public? Why, then, be angry with men of this sort? The judgment of their character rests with none but you.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

ISOCRATES

Isocrates was born at Athens in 436 B.C. He was the son of Theodorus, a wealthy flute manufacturer. He early came under the influence of Socrates and was instructed by the Sophists, Prodicus, Protagoras, and especially Gorgias. Excessive timidity and a weak voice kept him out of public life. After the fall of the Thirty he wrote forensic speeches for the use of others. In 392 B.C. he opened a rhetorical school at Athens, and from this time dates his twofold importance as a rhetorician and an orator. First, he was an educator, teaching young men the discipline of discourse. The number of his pupils has been estimated to have been a hundred or more; among them were the orators, Isæus, Hypereides, and Lycurgus, and the historians, Ephorus and Theopompus. Secondly, he was a political essayist. His great theme was the union of all the Greeks against the foreign foe, and this hope was the inspiration and the subject of many of the most important of his extant orations. He lived to see the total wreck of his most cherished ideas for the regeneration of Greece, and died shortly after the battle of Chæronea in 338 B.C.

Isocrates was the artist of a literary rhetorical prose. Purity of diction, rhythmical prose, the periodic sentence, avoidance of hiatus, a skilful use of the figures of speech, are his chief characteristics.

Twenty-one speeches and nine letters are extant under his name. These fall naturally into four divisions: (1) the Scholastic, of which the Antidosis is the most famous, as it discusses at length his theory of culture; (2) the Forensic, of which the Æginiticus is the best representative; (3) the Letters, of which those to Philip and to Alexander are worthy of mention; and (4) the Political, of which the Panegyric, on which he worked ten years, is his masterpiece.

The standard edition of the text is that of Bensseler Blass, Teubner, Leipzig, 1889; a good edition of the Panegyric, with English notes, is that of Sandys, London, 1893; translations into English are those of Gillies (1778) and of Freese (1894).

On his life, style, and works, see Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, ii., pp. 1–331; Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii., pp. 1–260.

THE PANEGYRIC

[Selection.] *Isocrates.*

Gorgias and Lysias had already delivered speeches at Olympia urging the duty of Hellenic unity against the barbarian. The Panegyric is a similar speech prepared by Isocrates for the Olympic festival of 380 B.C. It is not likely, however, that he himself delivered it; it may have been recited for him, or made public by copies circulated at this festival.

The Panegyric falls into two main divisions. In the first part the orator urges Sparta and Athens to lay aside their jealousies and assume the joint leadership of Greece, and shows that though Sparta now holds the first place, yet Athens had the better historical claim, and hence a compromise might well be made. There is a tradition that Isocrates spent ten years in the preparation of this speech. It is by far the most oratorical of his productions, and is of great importance as the most complete expression of his ruling political idea,—that of a Panhellenic war upon Persia.

I HAVE often wondered that those who convene the great festivals and have established athletic contests have deemed physical excellence worthy of such great rewards, and yet to those who have individually toiled for the public good, and have so formed their minds as to be able to benefit others as well as themselves, to these, I say, they have allotted no honor, for whom they ought to have had more consideration; for if the athletes were to acquire twice the strength they possess, no advantage would accrue to other men;

but if one man were to conceive a wise thought, all would reap the enjoyment of his understanding who were willing to share it. Yet I was not so discouraged by this as to yield to indifference; but thinking that the reputation which my speech would win by its unassisted merit would be a sufficient reward, I am here to advise you concerning war against the barbarians and harmony among ourselves. . . .

Turning to public affairs, there are men who, as soon as ever they come forward to speak, advise us that we ought to make up our mutual enmities and turn against the barbarian, and they enumerate the calamities that have befallen us owing to the civil war, and the advantages that would arise from the proposed campaign against him. Now, although these men speak truly, they do not start from the best point for enabling themselves to bring this about. The Hellenes are either subject to us or to the Lacedæmonians; for the forms of constitution by which they govern their States have divided most of them in this way. Whoever, then, thinks that the others will unite in any good policy before he has reconciled those who are at their head, is a mere simpleton, and out of touch with practical affairs. But if a man does not merely aim at personal display, but wishes to effect something, he must seek for such arguments as shall persuade these two States to share and

share alike, to divide the supremacy, and to win from the barbarians those advantages which now they desire should accrue to them from the Hellenes. Now, our Commonwealth would be easily induced to take this course, but the Lacedæmonians are for the present still hard to persuade, for they have inherited an erroneous notion that it is their ancestral prerogative to be leaders; but if it be shown to them that this honor belongs to us rather than to them, they will soon waive their punctilious claims in this matter, and follow their interests.

Now, other speakers ought to have started from this basis, and not to have given advice about matters of common agreement before instructing us on disputed points; but I especially am bound, for two reasons, to give most of my attention to this matter: first, if possible, that some useful result may be attained, and that we may cease from our mutual rivalry and unite in a war against the barbarians; and, secondly, if that is impossible, that I may point out who are those who stand in the way of the happiness of Hellas, and that it may be made clear to all that, as previously the old maritime empire of Athens was based on a just title, so now she has a good right to dispute the leadership. For, on the one hand, if the men who deserve honor in each sphere of action are those who have the most experience and the greatest power, it is beyond dispute that we have a right to recover the

leadership which we used to possess; for no one can point to any other State that is so preëminent in war by land as ours excels in maritime enterprises. And, on the other hand, if any think that this is not a fair criterion, but that fortune is too changeable for such a conclusion (since power never continues in the same hands), and claims that leadership, like any other prize, should be held either by those who first won this honor, or by those who have conferred the most benefits upon Hellas, I think that these too are on our side; for the further back one examines both these qualifications, the more we shall leave behind those who dispute our claim. For it is allowed that our Commonwealth is the most ancient and the largest and most renowned in all the world; and, good as is this foundation of our claim, for what follows we have still greater right to be honored. For we did not win the country we dwell in by expelling others from it, or by seizing it when uninhabited, nor are we a mixed race collected together from many nations, but so noble and genuine is our descent, that we have continued for all time in possession of the land from which we sprang, being children of our native soil, and able to address our city by the same titles that we give to our nearest relations; for we alone among the Hellenes have the right to call our city at once nurse and fatherland and mother. Yet our origin is but such as

should be possessed by a people who indulge in a reasonable pride, who have a just claim to the leadership of Hellas, and who bring to frequent remembrance their ancestral glories.

This will show the magnitude of the gifts with which fortune originally endowed us; the great benefits we have conferred upon others we shall best examine by a detailed narrative of the early history and achievements of our city; for we shall find that she has not only led the way in warlike enterprises, but is also the founder of nearly all the established institutions among which we dwell, and under which we carry on our public life, and by means of which we are enabled to live. Now, of useful services we must of necessity prefer, not such as on account of their insignificance escape notice and are passed over in silence, but such as on account of their importance are spoken of and kept in memory by all men, both in former times and at the present day and in every place.

In the first place, then, the first need of our nature was supplied by the agency of our State; for even though the story is a mythical one, yet it is fit to be told even at the present day. When Demeter came into the country in her wandering, after the rape of Persephone, and was kindly disposed to our forefathers on account of the services they rendered her, which can be told to none but the initiated, she bestowed two gifts which sur-

pass all others: the fruits of the earth, which have saved us from the life of wild beasts, and the mystic rite, the partakers in which have brighter hopes concerning the end of life and the eternity beyond,—under these circumstances, Athens showed such love for men, as well as for the gods, that, when she became mistress of these great blessings, she did not grudge them to the rest of the world, but shared her advantages with all. Now, as to the festival, we to this day celebrate it every year; and as to the fruits of the earth, Athens has once for all taught the uses to which they can be put, the operations which they require, and the benefits which arise from them. Indeed, no one will venture to disbelieve this statement, after I have made a few additional remarks. For, in the first place, the very considerations which would lead a man to despise the story on account of its antiquity, would give him probable reason to suppose that the events had actually happened; for that many have told the story of these events, and all have heard it, should make us regard it, though not recent, yet as worthy of belief. In the second place, we can not only take refuge in the fact that we have received the tradition and rumor from a distant period, but we can also produce greater proofs than this of these things. For most of the cities of Hellas, as a memorial of our old services, send to us each year

first-fruits of their corn, and those that omit to do so have often been commanded by the Pythia to pay the due proportion of their produce and perform their ancestral duties to our State. Yet can anything have stronger claims on our belief than that which is the subject of divine ordinance and of widespread approval in Hellas, where ancient story bears common witness to present deeds, and modern events agree with the legends of men of old? Besides this, if we leave all this out of consideration and take a survey from the beginning, we shall find that those who first appeared upon the earth did not at once find life in its present condition, but little by little procured for themselves its advantages. Whom then should we think most likely either to receive it as a gift from the gods, or to win it by their own efforts? Surely those who are admitted to have been the first to exist, and are at once most highly gifted for the pursuits of life and most piously disposed towards the gods. Now, what high honor ought to accrue to those who have produced such great blessings, it were a superfluous task to point out; for no one could find a reward commensurate with what has been achieved.

So much, then, concerning the greatest of our good works, first accomplished and most universal in its effects. But, in the same period, Athens, seeing the barbarians occupying the greater part

of the country, and the Hellenes confined in a small space and driven by scarcity of land into intestine conspiracies and civil wars, and perishing, either from want of daily necessities, or in war, was not content to leave things so, but sent forth leaders into the States who took those most in need of subsistence, made themselves their generals and conquered the barbarians in war, founded many States on both continents, colonized all the islands, and saved both those who followed them and those who stayed behind; for to the latter they left the home country sufficient for their needs, and the former they provided with more territory than they already possessed; for they acquired all the surrounding districts of which we are now in occupation. In this way, too, they afforded great facilities to those who in later times wished to send out colonists and to imitate our State; for it was not necessary for them to run risk in acquiring new territory, but they could go and live on land which we had marked out. Now, who can show a leadership more ancestral than one which arose before most Hellenic cities were founded, or more beneficial than one which drove the barbarians from their homes, and led on the Hellenes to such prosperity?

Yet, after aiding in the accomplishment of the most pressing duties, Athens did not neglect the rest, but deemed it the first step only in a career

of beneficence to find food for those in want, a step which is incumbent upon a people who aim at good government generally, and thinking that life which was limited to mere subsistence was not enough to make men desire to live, she devoted such close attention to the other interests of man, that of all the benefits which men enjoy, not derived from the gods, but which we owe to our fellow-men, none have arisen without the aid of Athens, and most of them have been brought about by her agency. For finding the Hellenes living in lawlessness and dwelling in a scattered fashion, oppressed by tyrannies or being destroyed by anarchy, she also released them from these evils, either by becoming mistress of them or by making herself an example; for she was the first to lay down laws and establish a constitution. This is clear from the fact that, when men in the earliest times introduced indictments for homicide, and determined to settle their mutual disputes by argument and not by violence, they followed our laws in the mode of trial which they adopted.

Nay, more, the arts also, whether useful for the necessities of life or contrived for pleasure, were by her either invented or put to proof and offered to the rest of the world for their use. In other respects, moreover, she ordered her administration in such a spirit of welcome to strangers and of friendliness to all, as to suit both those who were

in want of money and those who desired to enjoy the wealth they possessed, and not to fail in serving either the prosperous or those who were unfortunate in their own States, but so that each of these classes finds with us a delightful sojourn or a safe refuge. And further, since the territory possessed by the several States was not in every case self-sufficing, but was defective in some products and bore more than was sufficient of others, and much embarrassment arose where to dispose of the latter, and from whence to import the former, she provided a remedy for these troubles also; for she established the Piræus as a market in the centre of Hellas, of such superlative excellence, that articles which it is difficult for the several States to supply to each other, one by one, can all be easily procured from Athens.

Now those who established the great festivals are justly praised for handing down to us a custom which leads us to make treaties with one another, to reconcile the enmities that exist among us, and to assemble in one place; besides that, in making common prayers and sacrifices we are reminded of the original bond of kinship between us, and are more kindly disposed towards each other for the future, we renew old friendships and make new ones, and neither for ordinary men nor for those of distinguished qualities is the time idly spent, but by the concourse of Hellenes oppor-

tunity arises for the latter to display their natural excellences, and for the former to be spectators of their mutual contests, and neither spend their time dissatisfied, but each has whereof to be proud, the spectators when they see the competitors toiling on their behalf, and the competitors when they think that every one has come to look at them. Great, then, as are the benefits we derive from the assemblies, in these respects, too, our State is not left behind. For indeed she can show many most beautiful spectacles, some passing all bounds in expenditure, others of high artistic repute, and some excelling in both these respects; then, the multitude of strangers who visit us is so great, that if there is any advantage in mutual intercourse, that also has been compassed by her. In addition to this, you can find with us the truest friendships and the most varied acquaintanceships; and, moreover, see contests not merely of speed and strength, but also of oratory and mind, and in all other productions of art, and for these the greatest prizes. For in addition to those which the State herself offers, she also helps to persuade others to bestow the like; for those recognized by us receive such credit as to be universally approved. Apart from this, whereas the other festivals are assembled at long intervals and soon dispersed, our State, on the contrary, is for those who visit her one long festival without ceasing.

Practical philosophy, moreover, which helped to discover and establish all these institutions, which at once educated us for action and softened our mutual intercourse, which distinguished calamities due to ignorance from those which spring from necessity, and taught us to avoid the former, and nobly to endure the latter, was introduced by Athens; she also paid honor to eloquence, which all men desire, and begrudge to those who are skilled in it; for she was aware that this is the only distinguishing characteristic which we of all creatures possess, and that by this we have won our position of superiority to all the rest of them; she saw that in other spheres of action men's fortunes are so capricious that often in them the wise fail and the foolish succeed, and that the proper and skilful use of language is beyond the reach of men of poor capacity, but is the function of a soul of sound wisdom; and that those who are considered clever or stupid differ from each other mainly in this respect; she saw, besides, that men who have received a liberal education from the very first are not to be known by courage, or wealth, or such-like advantages, but are most clearly recognized by their speech, and that this is the surest token which is manifested of the education of each one of us, and that those who make good use of language are not only influential in their own States, but also held in honor

among other people. So far has Athens left the rest of mankind behind in thought and expression that her pupils have become the teachers of the world, and she has made the name of Hellas distinctive no longer of race but of intellect, and the title of Hellene a badge of education rather than of common descent.

But that I may not seem to be lingering over details of my subject when I proposed to treat of the whole, nor to be eulogizing Athens on these grounds from inability to praise her for her achievements in war, I will say no more to those who take pride in what I have mentioned; but I think that our forefathers deserve to be honored as much for the dangers they incurred as for the rest of their services. Neither small, nor few, nor obscure were the struggles they endured, but many, and terrible, and great, some for their own country, others for the general liberty; for during the whole time they did not cease to open their State to all, and were the champions of those among the Hellenes who from time to time were the victims of oppression. For that very reason some accuse us of a foolish policy, in that we have been accustomed to support the weaker, as if such arguments did not rather justify our admirers. For it was not in ignorance of the superiority of great alliances in regard to security that we took these counsels concerning them, but, while knowing much more

accurately than other men the results of such a course, we, nevertheless, preferred to help the weak even against our interests rather than for profit's sake to join in the oppressions of the strong.

Now, the character and the strength of Athens may be seen from the supplications which have been addressed to us in times past. I will pass over those of recent occurrence or small importance; but long before the Trojan War (for it is fair to borrow proofs from that time in a dispute about ancestral claims) there came the sons of Heracles, and a little before them Adrastus, the son of Talaus, King of Argos; the latter came from his expedition against Thebes, in which he had been defeated, being unable without aid to recover the bodies of those who had been slain under the Cadmea, and calling on our State to render assistance in a misfortune that may happen to all, and not to suffer those who had died in war to go unburied, nor an old custom and ancestral usage to be broken; the sons of Heracles came fleeing from the enmity of Eurystheus, and, passing over all other States as not likely to be able to help them in their calamities, they thought our State alone adequate to make recompense for the benefits which their father had conferred upon all mankind. From these circumstances, then, it is easy to see that even at that time our State possessed a kind of supremacy; for who would care to sue for help either to the weaker,

or to those subject to others, passing by those possessed of greater power, especially on affairs not of private but of public interest, the care of which would naturally fall upon those who claimed to stand at the head of Hellas? Further, they are shown not to have been disappointed of the hopes which caused them to take refuge with our forefathers. For they took up arms, first on behalf of those who had fallen in battle against the Thebans, and secondly on behalf of the sons of Heracles against the power of Eurystheus, and by an attack on the former forced them to give up the dead to their kindred for burial, and, when the Peloponnesian followers of Eurystheus invaded our territory, they went out against them and conquered them in battle, and made him to cease from his insolence. Now, these deeds added a fresh glory to the reputation they had already won by their previous achievements. For they did not act half-heartedly, but so revolutionized the fortunes of each of these monarchs, that the one who thought fit to supplicate us went away, having in the teeth of his foes achieved all that he wanted, while Eurystheus, expecting to prevail by force, was taken captive and himself compelled to become a suppliant; and, although on one who transcended human nature, who, though begotten of Zeus, was still mortal, but had the strength of a god, he had spent all his life in casting commands

and insults, yet, when he offended against us, he met with such a reverse of fortune that he came into the power of his own sons and ended his days in contumely. Now, many as are the services we have rendered to Lacedæmon, there is only one of which it has fallen to me to speak; seizing as an opportunity the deliverance which was won for them by us, the ancestors of those who now reign in Lacedæmon, and descendants of Heracles, went down into Peloponnesus, occupied Argos and Lacedæmon and Messene, became the founders of Sparta, and were the originators of all their present greatness. These things they should have remembered and never have invaded this country, from which their forefathers set out and won such prosperity, nor have brought into danger the State which bore the brunt of battle in the cause of the sons of Heracles, nor, while bestowing the crown upon his posterity, should they have thought fit to enslave the State which brought deliverance to his race. Now, if we must leave out of consideration gratitude and courtesy, and, returning to the original question, consider the matter strictly, it is surely not an ancestral custom that aliens should rule over the children of the soil, the recipients of kindness over their benefactors, suppliants over those who gave them welcome.

But I have yet a shorter way of proving my contention. Of the Hellenic States, with the exception

of ours, Argos, Thebes, and Lacedæmon were the greatest in former times and still continue to be so. Now, so great was the manifest superiority of our ancestors over all others, that on behalf of the defeated Argives they dictated terms to Thebes in the height of her pride, and on behalf of the sons of Heracles they conquered in battle the Argives and the rest of the Peloponnesians, and rescued the founders of Sparta and the leaders of the Lacedæmonians from the dangers of their contest against Eurystheus. So that I do not know what clearer demonstration could be made of their sovereign power in Hellas.

Now I ought, I think, to speak also of the achievements of Athens against the barbarians, especially as the leadership of Hellas against them was the original subject of my speech. Now, if I were to enumerate all the perils we went through I should be telling too long a tale; but in dealing with the greatest of them I will try to adopt the same method of narration that I followed just now. For the races best fitted for rule and the possessors of the widest imperial power are the Scythians, the Thracians, and the Persians, and it happens that all these have had hostile designs against us, and that our State has fought decisively against all of them. Now, what argument will be left for my opponents, if I can prove that, if any of the Hellenes were unable to get justice, it was to Athens that they directed their petitions, and that, when barbarians wished

to enslave Hellas, Athens was the first object of their attacks?

Now, although the Persian War is the most famous that has yet taken place, yet ancient events are equally good evidence in a dispute about ancestral claims. For, when Hellas was still of low estate, there came into our country Thracians under Eumolpus, the son of Poseidon, and Scythians under the Amazons, the daughters of Ares, not at the same time, but at the times when their rule extended as far as Europe; hating as they did the whole race of the Hellenes, they directed their complaints against us in particular, thinking that in this way they would encounter one State only and yet at the same time become masters of all.

They did not, however, succeed, but in conflict with our ancestors alone they were destroyed as utterly as if they had made war against all mankind. Now, the magnitude of the disasters which befell them is perfectly clear; for the traditions on this subject would never have lasted for so long, had not the actual events been unparalleled. It is said of the Amazons that, of those who came, not one went back again, and that those who were left behind were driven from power on account of the disaster which had happened here; and of the Thracians that, whereas in previous times they had been living as our immediate neighbors, owing to the campaign which then took place they fell

back so far that in the intervening territory many nations and various races and great cities were established.

Now, honorable indeed are these deeds, and befitting those who dispute for the leadership ; but akin to those which I have mentioned, and such as were to be expected from the descendants of men so great, were the achievements of those who made war against Darius and Xerxes. For although that was the greatest war ever set on foot, and never had so many perilous struggles taken place at one and the same time—against enemies who fancied themselves irresistible on account of their numbers, and allies who considered their valor unsurpassable—our ancestors conquered both, in the way that was suitable in each case, and proving superior in the face of every danger, earned as an immediate reward the meed of valor, and not long afterwards obtained the dominion of the sea, as the gift of the rest of the Hellenes, and without dispute from those who now seek to rob us of it.

Now, let no one think me ignorant that the Lacedæmonians, too, in those critical times deserved credit for many good services to Hellas ; but on this account I have even more reason to praise our State, in that, in conflict with such great competitors, she proved so far superior to them. But I wish to speak a little more at length about these two States, and not to skim over the subject too quickly, that

it may be to us a memorial, both of the valor of our ancestors and of the hatred of the barbarians. And yet I am not unaware that it is difficult for one who comes latest to the task to speak of a subject long ago occupied by previous speakers, and on which those citizens best able to speak have often spoken on the occasion of public funerals; for it follows that the chief part must have been already used up, and only a few unimportant points omitted. Nevertheless, starting from what still remains to be said, since it is convenient for my purpose, I must not shrink from making mention concerning them.

Now, I think that the greatest services have been rendered and the greatest praises deserved by those who exposed their persons in the forefront of danger for the sake of Hellas; yet it is not fair either to forget those who lived before this war and held power in these two States respectively. For they it was who trained beforehand those coming after them, inclined the multitude to virtue, and created formidable antagonists for the barbarians. For they did not despise the public interests, nor enjoy the resources of the State as their own, while neglecting her interests as no concern of theirs; but they were as solicitous for the common welfare as for their own domestic happiness, and at the same time properly stood aloof from matters which did not affect them. They did not estimate happiness by the standard of money, but they thought that

the surest and best wealth was possessed by the man who pursued such conduct as would enable him to gain the best reputation for himself and leave behind the greatest fame for his children. They did not emulate one another's shameless audacity, nor cultivate effrontery in their own persons, but deemed it more terrible to be ill-spoken of by their fellow-citizens than to die nobly for the State, and were more ashamed of public errors than they are now of their own personal faults. The reason of this was that they took care that their laws should be exact and good, those concerned with the relations of every-day life even more than those that had to do with private contracts. For they knew that good men and true will have no need of many written documents, but, whether on private or public matters, will easily come to an agreement by the aid of a few recognized principles. Such was their public spirit, that the object of their political parties was to dispute, not which should destroy the other and rule over the rest, but which should be first in doing some service to the State; and they organized their clubs, not for their private interests, but for the benefit of the people. They pursued the same method in their dealings with other States, treating the Hellenes with deference and not with insolence, considering that their rule over them should be that of a general, not of a despot, and desiring to be addressed as leaders rather

than masters, and to be entitled saviors and not reviled as destroyers; they won over States by kindness, instead of overthrowing them by force; they made their word more trustworthy than their oath is now, and thought it their duty to abide by treaties as by the decrees of necessity; not proud of their power so much as ambitious to live in self-restraint, they thought it right to have the same feelings towards their inferiors as they expected their superiors to have towards them, and they considered their own cities as merely private towns, while they looked upon Hellas as their common fatherland. Possessed of such ideas, and educating the younger generation in such manners, they brought to light such valiant men in those who fought against the barbarians from Asia, that no one, either poet or Sophist, has ever yet been able to speak in a manner worthy of their achievements. And I can readily excuse them; for it is just as hard to praise those who have surpassed the virtues of other men as those who have never done anything good; for whereas the latter have no deeds to support them, the former have no language befitting them. For what language could be commensurate to the deeds of men who were so far superior to those who made the expedition against Troy, that, while they spent ten years against one city, those men in a short time defeated the whole might of Asia, and not only saved their own coun-

tries, but also liberated the whole of Hellas? And what deeds or toils or dangers would they have shrunk from attempting in order to win living reputations, when they were so readily willing to lose their lives for sake of a posthumous fame? And I even think that the war must have been contrived by one of the gods in admiration of their valor, that men of such quality should not remain in obscurity nor end their lives ingloriously, but should be thought worthy of the same rewards as those children of the gods, who are called demigods; for even their bodies the gods rendered up to the inflexible laws of nature, but made immortal the memory of their valor.

Now, continuous as was the jealousy between our ancestors and the Lacedæmonians, yet in those times they exercised their rivalry for the highest objects, considering themselves to be not enemies but competitors, and not courting the barbarian with a view to the servitude of Hellas, but having one aim in the common safety, their only rivalry being which of them should achieve it. Now, the first proof they gave of their high qualities was on the occasion of the expedition sent by Darius: for when the enemy landed in Attica our ancestors on their part did not wait for their allies; but treating the public peril as if it were their own, they went with their own forces alone to meet a foe who had despised the whole of Hellas, prepared with their

small numbers to encounter many myriads, as if other men's lives and not their own were at stake; and the Lacedæmonians no sooner heard of the war in Attica than, neglecting everything else, they came to help us, making as much haste as if their own country were being laid waste. A proof of their rapidity and emulation is that our ancestors are said on one and the same day to have heard of the landing of the barbarians, marched out to protect the borders of their territory, fought a victorious engagement, and set up a trophy over their enemies, while the Lacedæmonians in three days and as many nights traversed twelve hundred stadia in marching order. So strenuously did they hasten, the one to share in the dangers, and the others to fight before reinforcements should arrive. The next occasion was that of the subsequent expedition, which Xerxes led in person, leaving his royal residence and making bold to become a general, and collecting all Asia together; in the description of whose fall the highest flights of eloquence have fallen short of the reality. He reached such a pitch of arrogance that, deeming it a small task to subdue Hellas, and wishing to leave such a memorial behind him as human nature cannot attain to, he did not cease till he had devised and forced to completion the feat which is in every one's mouth, of sailing with his army across the mainland and marching on foot through the sea, by bridging

the Hellespont, and cutting a canal through Athos.

It was one, then, of such lofty pride and such great achievements, master of so many men, that they went to encounter, dividing the risk between them,—the Lacedæmonians to Thermopylæ against his land forces, choosing a thousand of their number and taking a few of their allies with them, intending in the narrow pass to bar their further advance, and our ancestors to Artemisium, having manned sixty triremes against the whole fleet of the enemy. And they took heart to do these things not so much from contempt of their enemies as in rivalry with each other, the Lacedæmonians envying our State the battle of Marathon and seeking to do the like, and fearing lest twice in succession Athens should bring deliverance to the Hellenes, while our people on their part wished above all to preserve their existing fame, and to make it clear to all that their former victory too was due to valor and not to luck, and in the next place also to encourage the Hellenes to undertake a sea-fight, by proving to them that in naval ventures just as in those by land it is the prowess of the common people that prevails. But though they displayed equal daring, their fortunes were not alike; the Lacedæmonians were destroyed—their spirits were victorious—their bodies only fainted and failed (for indeed it would be a sin to say that they were de-

feated ; for no one of them deigned to flee) ; our ancestors, on their part, defeated the advanced squadron, but when they heard that the enemy were masters of the pass, they sailed back home, [arranged affairs in the city] and directed the remainder of their efforts so well, that, many and glorious as were their previous achievements, they excelled yet more in the closing scene of their perils. For all the allies were in despondency, and the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus and seeking only their own safety, while the other States had become subject to the barbarians and were serving in their ranks, except such as were neglected on account of their insignificance ; one thousand two hundred triremes were sailing against them, and an innumerable land force was on the point of invading Attica ; yet, although they could see no gleam of deliverance, but were bereft of allies and disappointed of all their hopes, though they might have not merely escaped the dangers besetting them, but have received special distinctions, which the Great King offered them in the belief that, if he added the fleet of our State to his forces, he would immediately conquer Peloponnesus as well, —they would hear nothing of his gifts, nor did they in anger against the Hellenes for their betrayal gladly hasten to make terms with the barbarians, but for their own part they made ready to fight for freedom, and forgave the others for preferring slavery. For

they considered that, though the humble States were right in seeking safety by every means, those which claimed to be at the head of Hellas could not possibly try to escape their peril, but that, just as for men of truth and honor it is more preferable to die honorably than to live in disgrace, so too for States of high position it is more profitable to disappear from among men than to be seen in a state of slavery.

Now, it can be shown that such were their thoughts; for as they were not able to marshal their forces against both the hostile armaments at the same time, they took with them all the multitude from the city and sailed out to the neighboring island, that they might encounter each force in turn. Now, how could men be shown better or more loyal to Hellas than they, who, to avoid bringing slavery on the rest, endured to look calmly upon their city made desolate, their land being laid waste, their sanctuaries plundered and their temples burnt, and the whole war centered upon their own country? And indeed, even this did not satisfy them, but they were ready to maintain a sea-fight single-handed against one thousand two hundred triremes. Yet they were not permitted to do so; for the Peloponnesians, put to shame by their valor, and thinking that, if our men were destroyed first, they themselves would not escape either, whereas, if they succeeded, they would

bring dishonor upon their own States, were compelled to share the peril. Now, as to the din which arose in the engagement, the cries, and the shouts of encouragement, which are common to all sea-fights, I do not know that I need spend time in describing them ; but what is peculiar to this engagement, and worthy of the leadership of Hellas, and in harmony with what has been said before, this it is my duty to tell of. So far was our State superior when its power was unimpaired, that after being laid waste it contributed, in the first place, for the battle on behalf of Hellas, more triremes than all the rest who joined in the fight, and, in the second place, no one is so hostile to us that he would not allow that it was by reason of the sea-fight that we conquered in the war, and that this fight was brought about by Athens. Now, when an expedition against the barbarians is being proposed, who ought to have the leadership? Surely they who in the former war won the greatest fame, having often borne the brunt on their own shoulders, and in united contests having gained the prize of valor. Surely they who abandoned their own country for the general deliverance, and who not only in olden times founded most of the Hellenic States, but also in later days rescued them from the greatest disasters. Should we not be most hardly treated, if, after having endured the largest share of troubles, we should be thought

worthy of a lesser share of honors, and, after having in those days occupied the foremost post, should now be compelled to follow the lead of others?

Now, up to this point I know that all will allow that our State had rendered more services than any other, and would be fairly entitled to the leadership; but after this, some begin to accuse us on the ground that, when we succeeded to the empire of the sea, we became a source of much mischief to Hellas, and in this connection they reproach us with the enslavement of the Melians and the destruction of the Scionæans. Now, I think, in the first place, that it is no indication that we ruled badly, that some of those who made war against us are shown to have been severely chastised, but it is a much stronger proof of the excellence of our government of our allies, that of the States which were subject to us not one met with such disasters. In the second place, if any others had dealt with similar affairs in a more lenient spirit, they might have good reason to censure us; but since this is not the case, and at the same time it is impossible to govern States so many in number without chastising those who commit offences, do we not even deserve praise for that we were able to hold our empire longest with least harshness? I think all are of opinion that those will prove to be the best rulers of Hellas, under whom their subjects are found to fare best. Under our leadership, then,

more than any other, we shall find that both private households increased in prosperity and that cities became great. For we did not envy the growing cities nor cause disorder within them by planting side by side opposing forms of constitution, that the inhabitants might fall into faction and each party court our favor, but, considering the harmony of our allies to be a common benefit, we governed all the States on the same principles; our policy regarding them was that of allies and not of masters, exercising a general superintendence, and yet allowing them to be individually free; we helped the people, and made war against arbitrary power, thinking it monstrous that the many should be subject to the few, and that those who are poorer in substance than others, but in other respects no whit inferior, should be driven from office, and more, that, in a country common to all, some should be despots and others mere settlers, and that those who are citizens by nature should by law be deprived of all share in the administration.

Having such grounds of complaint against oligarchies, and more than these, we set up in the other States the same constitution as our own, which I see no need for commending at length, especially as I can give an account of it in a few words. For under it they continued living for seventy years unacquainted with tyrannies, free as

regarded the barbarians, undisturbed by faction amongst themselves, and at peace with all men.

Our feelings are naturally so hostile to them, that the very stories that we are most pleased to linger over are those of the Trojan and Persian wars, by which we can learn of their misfortunes. And you will find that, while the war against barbarians has afforded us hymns of praise, war against the Hellenes has been a source of lamentations, and that the former are sung at our feasts, while the latter we remember in our misfortunes. I think, indeed, that even the poetry of Homer has acquired a greater reputation for the noble way in which he praised those who fought against the barbarians, and that it was on this account that our ancestors gave to his genius a place of honor both in musical contests and in the education of the young, that by often hearing his epics, we may fully understand the enmity which exists between us and them, and that in emulation of the virtues of those who fought against Troy, we may strive after deeds such as theirs.

It seems to me, therefore, that the motives for going to war with them are exceedingly many, and chief of all the present opportunity, which must not be thrown away ; for indeed it is a disgrace to remember an opportunity when it is past, instead of using it while it is present. For what further advantage could we even wish to accrue to us in

prospect of a war with the King, beyond those which we now possess? Have not Egypt and Cyprus revolted from him, Phœnicia and Syria been reduced to desolation by reason of war, and Tyre, on which he greatly prided himself, been seized by his enemies? And of the cities in Cilicia, the majority are held by our supporters, and the rest it is not difficult to win; and Lycia no Persian has ever yet completely subdued. Hecatomnus, the Satrap of Caria, has in reality been now for a long time disaffected, and will declare himself whenever we wish it. From Cnidus to Sinope Hellenes live along the coast of Asia, whom there is no need to persuade to go to war, but merely to refrain from hindering them. Now, with such bases of operations to our hand, and with Asia beset with so formidable a war, why need we scan too minutely the future issue? For when they are unequal to small portions of our power, it is clear how they would be situated, it they were compelled to make war against the whole. The matter stands thus: if the barbarian should hold more strongly the cities on the sea-coast, placing in them larger garrisons than at present, possibly the islands also which are near the mainland, such as Rhodes, Samos, and Chios, would turn aside to follow his fortunes; but if we were to seize these cities first, it is probable that the inhabitants of Lydia and Phrygia and the upper

country generally would be in the power of a force operating from those points. Therefore we must hasten and make no delay, that we may not suffer the same fate as our fathers. For they, by being later in the field than the barbarians, and abandoning some of their allies, were compelled to fight with inferior numbers against a large force, whereas it was open to them by crossing in time onto the mainland to have overcome each nation one after the other with the whole power of Hellas. For experience teaches us that, when making war against men who are being collected from many places, we ought not to wait until they are upon us, but to attack them while still dispersed. Our fathers, it is true, though committing all these errors at the first, retrieved them after passing through the severest struggles in our history; but we, if we are wise, will be on our guard from the beginning and try to be the first to establish a force in the country of Lydia and Ionia, knowing that the King too rules the continental peoples, not by a willing allegiance, but by having at command a greater force than they severally possess; now when we take across a stronger force than his, which we could easily do if we so determined, we shall enjoy the fruits of all Asia in security. And it is a much nobler thing to fight with him for his kingdom than to wrangle among ourselves for the leadership of Hellas.

Now, it is right to undertake the campaign in the present generation, that those who have had their share of troubles may also enjoy success and not spend all their life in evil days. Sufficient is the past, in which every form of calamity has taken place. Many as are the evils attached to the natural condition of men, we ourselves have invented more evils in addition to those which necessity imposes, creating wars and factions in our midst, so that some are lawlessly put to death in their own States, while others wander with wives and children in a foreign land, and many, forced into mercenary service by the want of daily necessities, die fighting for foes against friends. At this no one has ever yet shown indignation, yet they see fit to weep over the tales of calamity composed by poets, while, beholding with indifference the real woes, many and terrible, which are caused by war, they are so far from feeling pity that they even rejoice more at one another's troubles than at their own good fortune. Many perhaps would even ridicule my simplicity, were I to mourn over the misfortunes of individuals in times like these, in which Italy has become a wasted land, Sicily has been enslaved, and so many States have been given up to the barbarians, while the remaining portions of Hellas are in the midst of the greatest dangers.

For these things it is but right that we should

feel indignation and consider how we shall take vengeance for the past and set the future on a right footing. For it is a disgrace that, while in private life we think it fitting to use the barbarians as domestic servants, we should in public affairs suffer so many of our allies to be in slavery to them, and that, whereas those who lived in the time of the Trojan war did for the rape of one woman all join so heartily in the indignation of those who had suffered the wrong, that they did not cease to carry on the war until they had laid in ruins the city of the man who had dared to commit the offence; we, on the contrary, wreak no public vengeance for outrages which are being inflicted upon the whole of Hellas, though it is in our power to achieve things worthy of aspiration. For it is only a war of this kind which is better than peace, a war more like a sacred embassy than a campaign, and to the interest of both parties, both those who prefer to live in quiet, and those who desire to go to war; for it would enable the former to reap in security the fruits of their own possessions, and the latter to acquire great riches out of the possessions of others.

Now, in many directions it will be found on consideration that this course of action is most to our profit. For consider: against whom should war be made by those who desire no selfish aggression, but look to justice alone? Surely against those

who formerly did injury to Hellas, are now scheming against us, and always entertain hostile feelings towards us. Against whom may envy be fairly cherished by men who are not altogether given over to an unmanly jealousy, but indulge this feeling with discretion? Surely against those who have encompassed themselves with power too great for men to hold, and yet are deserving of less than those who are unfortunate in our country. Against whom should a campaign be conducted by those who wish to act as pious men and at the same time desire their own advantage? Surely against those who are both our natural and our ancestral enemies, who possess the highest prosperity with the smallest power of striking a blow in its defence. Now, the Persians are open to all these reproaches. Moreover, we shall not even trouble the States by levying soldiers from them, which is now a most severe burden to them in our civil war; for I think that far fewer will wish to stay behind than will desire to follow in our train. For who, be he young or old, has a heart so unmoved that he will not wish to take his part in this expedition, an expedition generalled by Athenians and Lacedæmonians, mustering on behalf of the freedom of the allies, going forth at the bidding of all Hellas, and marching to the chastisement of the barbarians? What fame, and name, and glory must we deem that these men,

who have been foremost in so great an enterprise, will enjoy while living, or dying will leave behind them? For whereas they who fought against Alexander and took one city were deemed worthy of such praises, what eulogies must we expect will be won by the conquerors of all Asia? For surely every one who has the gift of poetry or the power of speech will toil and study in the wish to leave behind him for all time a memorial at once of his own genius and of their valor?

Now, I do not find myself of the same opinion at the present moment as at the beginning of my speech. Then I thought I should be able to speak in a fashion worthy of my subject; now I cannot attain to its magnitude, and much that I thought of has escaped me. You must then for yourselves consider together what happiness we should gain by turning against the inhabitants of the continent the war which now besets us here, and by transferring to Europe the happiness of Asia. You must not go away hearers and no more, but the men of action should with mutual exhortation endeavor to reconcile our State to that of the Lacedæmonians, while those who dispute the palm of oratory should cease to write concerning fiduciary deposit and the other trifling subjects of their conversation, and should rather direct their rivalry against this discourse and consider how to speak better than I have done on the same subject,

reflecting that it does not befit those who promise great things to occupy themselves with trifles, nor to engage in arguments from which the lives of their audience will gain no advantage by conviction, but to employ discussions, by the realization of which they will not only themselves be relieved from their present embarrassment, but will also be regarded as the source of great blessings to others.

Translated by J. H. Freese, M.A., for "The Orations of Isocrates" (Bohn), published by George Bell & Sons, London.

ISÆUS

Isæus lived between 420 and 348 B.C. He was born in Chalcis, and came to Athens at an early age. He wrote forensic speeches for others, and established a school of rhetoric, in which Demosthenes is said to have studied. He was a pupil of Isocrates, and a diligent student of Lysias. He confined his attention chiefly to cases of inheritance. He is of importance as representing the return to practical oratory, and his orations as representing the transition from the studied plainness of Lysias to the larger field of deliberative oratory.

Purity and clearness of diction, ease and variety in composition, elaboration of proof, versatility in arrangement, keenness in logic, make him a perfect master of forensic conflict.

Eleven speeches of Isæus are extant, with a large part of a twelfth. All, except the last, are concerned with the law of inheritance ; the speech for Euphiletus is a case of Appeal. Of the eleven the speech on the Estate of Ciron is most distinctively Isæan.

For the text, consult the edition of Scheibe, 1889, in the Teubner series ; translation in English of Sir William Jones. See, also, Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit,* ii., pp. 486–577 ; Jebb, *Attic Orators,* ii., pp. 261–368.

ON THE ESTATE OF CIRON

Isæus.

We have in the following speech a typical defence in a forensic suit for the possession of property—one that exhibits the powers of Isæus at their best. "Ciron married his first cousin by whom he had one daughter. This daughter was married, first to Nausimenes; secondly, to another husband by whom she had two sons, of whom the eldest is the speaker. After the death of his first wife, Ciron married the sister of one Diocles, and had by her two sons, both of whom died young. At the death of Ciron his estate was claimed by his daughter's eldest son. But the son of Ciron's brother, instigated by Diocles, set up a counter claim on two distinct grounds: (1) That Ciron's grandson is illegitimate; (2) That, supposing him legitimate, a brother's son has a better claim than a daughter's son. This speech is the defendant's answer." The date is probably about 375 B.C.

IT is impossible, judges, to suppress our just indignation, when men are not only bold enough to claim the property of others, but even hope by their sophisms to refine away the sound rules of law, as our adversaries are now attempting to do; for, although my grandfather, Ciron, died not childless, but left me and my brother, the sons of his legitimate daughter, yet these men have both claimed his estate, as his next of kin, and insult us with asserting that we are not his grandsons, and that he never had a daughter in his life; to this audacity have they been incited by their

sordid love of gain, and allured by the value of Ciron's estate, which they violently seized, and now unjustly possess; being absurd enough to allege that he died in indigence, yet contending at the same time that they have a right to his fortune. Now, I consider myself as contending in this cause, not with the nominal party to the suit, but with Diocles of Phlya, whose mad violence has procured him the name of Orestes; for it was he, who first instigated my opponent to give us this trouble, with an intent to deprive us of our succession to the property of our grandfather, and has thus exposed us to danger, that he may not be compelled to restore the goods which he has embezzled, if he can persuade you by his false allegations to pronounce your decree in his favor. These being their machinations, it is necessary for you to be informed of the whole transaction, that, when you are fully apprised of every circumstance, you may decide the cause from your perfect knowledge of it; and, if you have ever attended to any other cause, hear this, I entreat you, with attention; justice indeed requires it; for in the many suits with which Athens abounds, no man will be found to have invaded the possessions of another with more impudence and a greater contempt of decency than these confederates. It is no easy task, judges, for one, wholly void of experience in courts, to enter into a contest of so great im-

portance against the premeditated quibbles of subtle speakers, and against witnesses prepared to violate the truth; yet I am not without hopes of being restored to my rights by your sentence, and of speaking so far at least with tolerable propriety as to support my just demand, unless some such misfortune should befall me as I cannot even now help fearing; I supplicate you therefore, judges, to hear me with candor, and, if you think me injured, to redress the injury which I have sustained.

First, then, I will convince you that my mother was the legitimate daughter of Ciron, and will prove by hearsay evidence what happened a long time ago, and by living witnesses what it is still possible for them to remember; to this I will add a number of circumstances, which are often more decisive than the testimony of fallible men; and when I have evinced the truth of this point beyond a doubt, I will demonstrate, that we have a juster claim than our adversaries to the estate of the deceased. I will begin my narrative from that part of the case, whence they also began their argument.

My grandfather Ciron, judges, married his first cousin, the daughter of his mother's sister, who bore my mother, and died three years after marriage. Ciron, having this only daughter, took for his second wife the sister of Diocles, by whom he had two sons: with her and her children, my

mother was educated, and, when she attained a proper age, was given by her father in marriage to Nausimenes of Cholargia, with a fortune of twenty-five minas, together with clothes and ornaments of gold. Three or four years after this, Nausimenes died of a violent disorder, leaving no children by my mother, whom Ciron received again into his family (but without her entire portion, as her husband had been in distress) and gave her to my father with a fortune of a thousand drachmas. That all these transactions really passed, as I relate them, and fully disprove the false pretences on which our adversaries insist, I discovered a method of evincing with the utmost clearness; for, whether my mother was, or was not, the daughter of Ciron, whether she made part of his family or not, whether he solemnized her two nuptials, and what fortune he gave with her to each of her husbands, all this must necessarily be known to his servants of both sexes; desiring therefore in addition to the evidence, which I shall adduce, to confirm these facts by an extorted confession, that you might give the greater credit to such witnesses as had previously exhibited a proof of their veracity, I proposed to my antagonists, that the male and female slaves should be questioned on the rack concerning their knowledge of these occurrences; but this very Diocles, who will presently entreat you to believe his witnesses, declined so easy a mode of discov-

ering the truth. If then his refusal to accept my offer, which must be imputed to his fear of so decisive an investigation, be clearly proved, what remains to be thought of his witnesses? Nothing, in my opinion, but that they are forsworn; in proof of this fact, read first the deposition, which I have brought. [Deposition is read.]

Now, you are all, I believe, persuaded, that an inquisition by torture, both in public and private causes, is the best and surest mode of investigating the truth; nor, when both freemen and slaves are present and it is expedient to obtain a discovery of facts, is it your custom to examine the freemen, but to rack the slaves, and thus to extort a true relation of all that has happened; in this respect you think and act wisely, judges; for you well know that many persons examined in the usual form have given evidence indubitably false; but of all those who have been exposed to torture, none have ever been convicted of falsehood; and will this most audacious of men request you to believe his artful pretences, and his witnesses, who swear against truth, when he declines a mode of proof so exact and conclusive? Our conduct is widely different; and, as we first proposed to discover the whole transaction by the means of torture, to which proposal we have proved that they would not consent, we think it reasonable that our witnesses should be credited. Read next

these depositions, which prove my mother's legitimacy. [Depositions are read.]

Whom can we suppose acquainted with what happened so long ago? Those, no doubt, who were intimate with my grandfather; their testimony then has been repeated by many who heard them assert the truth of it. Who must unavoidably know that my mother was given in marriage? Those who betrothed her, and those who were present at the time of the affiance; to this point, therefore, we have adduced the evidence of persons who were connected both with my father and with Nausimenes. Who must be conscious that she was bred in the house of Ciron, and that she was his legitimate daughter? My adversaries themselves have shown this to be true, by declining the discovery proposed; so that you cannot justly disbelieve our witnesses, but have great reason to suspect the credibility of theirs.

To these arguments may be added many circumstances which prove that our mother was the daughter of Ciron; for, as it became a man to treat the sons of his own daughter, he never made a sacrifice without us; but, whether he solemnized the greater festivals or the less, we were always present and always partook of them; nor were we invited to these only, but he constantly carried us into the country to the Dionysian feasts; with him we sat to view the games, and at his house we

passed every holiday. Besides, he most assiduously paid his adorations to Jupiter the Enricher, into whose temple he admitted no slave whatever, nor any freemen who were not of his family, but conducted the whole ceremony himself; yet even of this celebrity were we partakers, performing the holy rites together with him, and assisting him in the operations of the sacrifices; he then prayed the deity (as a grandfather would naturally pray) to grant us good health and ample gains; nor, had he not believed us to be his daughter's children, and the only lineal descendants, whom he was to leave behind him, would he have shown us this parental affection, but would have taken for his companion the man who now pretends to be his nephew. The truth of all this must be accurately known by my grandfather's slaves, whom this man will not suffer to be interrogated on the rack; but the same facts were notorious also to some of his intimate friends, whose evidence shall now be produced; take their depositions and read them to the court. [Depositions are read.]

Nor from these transactions alone is it manifest that our mother was the legitimate daughter of Ciron, but also from the conduct of our own father, and from the manner in which she herself was treated by the women of the same borough; for, when my father married her, he gave an entertainment, to which he invited three of his acquaint-

ances, besides his particular friends, and presented those of his ward with the nuptial victim, according to their institutions: after this the wives of his fellow-burgesses elected her, together with the wife of Diocles the Pithian, to lead the procession and perform divine rites at the temple of Ceres; and my father, when we were born, introduced us to his ward, having previously sworn, as the law requires, that we were his sons by a citizen of Athens, whom he had legally espoused; nor did a single man of the ward, although many were present who scrupulously examine such matters, say a syllable against our admission, or entertain a doubt of his veracity. Now, it cannot be imagined, that if our mother had been what these men falsely pretend, our father would have celebrated his connection with her by a nuptial feast and the usual sacrifice; he would rather have kept the whole affair secret; nor would the matrons of his ward have chosen her, with the wife of Diocles, to perform their sacred rites and to preside over the solemnity, but would have given that respectable charge to another; nor would the members of the ward have received us, but would have objected to our admission, and justified their objection, had it not been allowed on all sides that our mother was Ciron's legitimate daughter: the truth indeed of this fact is now so apparent, and so many persons have a perfect knowledge of it, that it is no-

where disputed. Call up the witnesses, who will prove what I have last asserted. [Evidence is submitted.]

Yet further, judges; that we are the acknowledged grandsons of Ciron, the behavior of Diocles himself, after my grandfather's death, will clearly demonstrate; for I went, accompanied by one of my friends, a cousin of my father, to bring the body to my own house, from which I intended to begin the funeral procession: Diocles was not within; but, when I entered, and was directing the assistants, whom I had brought, to remove the corse, my grandfather's widow entreated me to begin the funeral from her house, offering to assist us in laying out and embalming the body: she wept and supplicated, judges, till she prevailed; and, meeting Diocles, I told him before witnesses, that, as his sister had requested me, the remains of Ciron should be carried to the place of burial from the house in which he died: to this he made no objection, but said that he had brought some things necessary for the funeral, and had given earnest for them; he therefore exacted a promise from me to pay what they cost, and desired me to give him back the earnest, engaging to bring me to those who had received it of him: soon after, indeed, he affected to insinuate that Ciron died insolvent, though I had not then spoken a word about his fortune. Now, if he had not known me to be the

grandson of Ciron, he would never have made such an agreement with me, but would rather have addressed me thus: "What man are you? What concern have you with the burial? I know you not: come not within my doors." This he should then have said himself, which he has now suborned others to say: nothing, however, of the kind was even intimated by him, but he requested me to bring him the money on the next morning; and here, to prove the truth of this narrative, let the witnesses be called. [Evidence is introduced.]

Nor was he alone silent on this head; but even the present claimant of the estate advanced nothing in opposition to my right, till he was instigated by this fellow to dispute it; for when I carried the money on the following day, Diocles refused to accept it, alleging that he had received it from my adversary; yet I was not prevented from joining in the funeral rites, but assisted at the whole ceremony; the expenses of which were not borne by my opponent, but were defrayed out of the money which Ciron left: now, it would have become him, if the deceased had not been really my grandfather, to have thrust me out, to have expelled me, and to have hindered me from conducting the burial in conjunction with them. Our situations in this respect were by no means similar; for I permitted him, as the nephew of my grandfather, to act in concert with me; but he

should not have suffered me to join with him, if that had been true, which they now have the impudence to allege. To such a degree, indeed, was Diocles confounded with the truth of my assertions, when in my funeral oration I accused him by name of an attempt to invade my property, and of inciting my antagonist to make this unjust claim, that he dared not even mutter a syllable against me, much less insinuate what he now so audaciously advances. Call those also who will prove this fact. [Witnesses are heard.]

What now, in the name of the gods, can induce us to believe what we hear asserted? Is it not the testimony of witnesses? I think it undeniable. How can their evidence be procured? Is it not by the fear of torture? Most assuredly. Why then should you give no credit to the allegations of my adversaries? Is it because they declined to complete a proof? yes, beyond a doubt. How is it possible, therefore, to demonstrate more clearly, that my mother was Ciron's legitimate daughter, than by producing hearsay evidence of what happened many years ago, and by giving you the positive testimony of living witnesses, who know that she was educated in his house, was considered as his child, was twice betrothed by him, and twice given in marriage; and by showing moreover, that they refuse to examine the slaves who had a perfect knowledge of all these transactions?

The whole of this I have given in evidence; and a more convincing proof, by all the deities of heaven, cannot be produced; but what has already been advanced seems fully sufficient to evince the justice of my demand.

I now proceed to give you entire conviction, that I have by law a greater right than my antagonist to the estate of Ciron; and it is apparent, I believe, to all of you, that those who are descended only from the same stock with the deceased are not more nearly related to him than those who are descended from himself: how, indeed, should it be so when the first are his collateral kinsmen, and the others his lineal descendants? Since, however, they are daring enough to argue against the manifest reason of the thing, I will prove my point more diffusely by arguments drawn from the laws themselves: First, if my mother, the daughter of Ciron, were still living, if her father had died intestate, and if this man had been his brother instead of his nephew, he would have a power, indeed, to marry his daughter; but no man would have a right to his estate, except her children, to whom the law would give it at the age of sixteen years; if, then, were she alive, he would not have been entitled to her fortune, but her sons would have been the lawful heirs, it is evident, that, as she died leaving children, they only, not these confederates, should succeed to her possessions.

Nor does this law only confirm my title; but that concerning distressed parents establishes the point for which I contend: had my grandfather been alive, and in want of necessaries, the guilt of suffering him to continue in distress would have been imputed, not to our adversary, but to us; for the law enjoins us to support our parents, by whom are meant our fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, and their fathers and mothers, if they are living; since, as they are the root and stock of the family, and as their descendants regularly succeed to their property, it is just and natural to maintain them, how little soever they have to leave. Can it then be thought reasonable, that, even if they had had nothing, we should have been liable to a prosecution for not supporting them, yet, if they leave a fortune, that these men, not we, should succeed to it? By no means.

I will begin, then, with the nearest of a man's collateral relations, and will call for your sentiments on the comparison between them and his lineal descendants; for this method will easily convince you. Who was more nearly related to Ciron, his daughter or his brother? No doubt, his daughter; for she descended immediately from him, but he only derived his descent from the same ancestor. Is the brother to be preferred in the order of succession, or the daughter's sons? Her sons indisputably; for theirs is a direct de-

scent, not a collateral relationship; since then we are so far nearer than a brother, we must have considerably a better claim than this man, who is only a nephew. But I fear lest, by dwelling too long on a point which cannot fairly be disputed, I should tire your patience; for all of you inherit the possessions of your fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors of a higher degree, by the uncontrovertible title of a lineal descent; the case is so clear, that I cannot believe there ever before was such a contest. I shall therefore conclude this part of my argument with reading the law concerning the distress of parents; and shall then explain to you the motives which induced my opponents to harass me with this cause. [The law is read.]

The property of Ciron, judges, consisted of a farm in Phlya well worth a talent, and two houses in the city, one of which, near the temple of Bacchus in the Marshes, was occupied by a tenant, and might be sold for twenty minas; the other, which he inhabited, was worth thirteen; he had, besides, some slaves who worked for his advantage, two female servants and a girl, together with utensils and household furniture, which, with the slaves, were worth as much as the house. His whole real estate may be valued at rather more than a talent and a half; and he had no inconsiderable sum of money out at interest, from which he received a good annual income. Diocles and

his sister had long projected to possess themselves of this fortune; and, as soon as the two sons of Ciron were dead, he did not remove her from the old man (though she might then have borne children by another husband), fearing lest, if they were separated, he should dispose, as he ought to have done, of his possessions; but persuaded her to continue with him, to pretend that she was *enceinte,* and afterwards to allege that she had miscarried; for he knew that if Ciron could entertain hopes of having other children, he would not adopt either of us. As to my father, Diocles perpetually calumniated him, asserting that he had conspired to seize the property of Ciron. His next step was to defraud my grandfather of all his money, while he pretended to execute the office of receiving his interest, and managing his landed property. Thus did he inveigle the old man by adulation and servility, till he had all his effects within his grasp; yet, well knowing that after Ciron's death I should have a just claim to his fortune, he did not prevent me from attending and conversing with him: he feared, I imagine, the consequences of my resentment at that time; but he has now suborned a man to controvert my right to the succession, and, if he should be victorious, would allow him a small share of the plunder, while he means to secure the whole inheritance for himself; yet, even to this very man,

he did not at first acknowledge that Ciron left any estate, but affected that he died in absolute indigence. As soon as my grandfather was dead, this Diocles made preparations for the funeral; the expenses of which, as you have heard from the witnesses, he required me to defray; yet he afterwards refused to accept the money from me, on pretence that he had before received it from my opponent; thus artfully intending to let it appear that he himself, not I, was preparing to bury the deceased. When, therefore, he raised this controversy, both concerning Ciron's house and his other possessions, yet stupidly insisted, in the same moment, that he had left nothing at all, I thought it an improper time (and the opinion of my friends coincided with mine) to remove the body by force; but I assisted them, and attended the burial, the charges of which were supplied out of Ciron's estates. In this manner was I compelled to act; but, lest it should give them an advantage over me, if they could say with truth that I bore no part of the expense, I contributed my share, by the advice of a lawyer whom I consulted; and I performed sacred rites in the handsomest manner the ninth day after the funeral, both that they might be prevented from the impiety of performing them, and might not seem to have expended the whole sum without my participation.

These, judges, are the transactions which relate to my cause, and these are the reasons which induce my enemies to attack me; but, were you perfectly acquainted with the shameless impudence of Diocles, you would not hesitate a moment in giving full credit to my whole narrative, for this wretch actually robbed his three half-sisters, who were left heiresses to their father, of the fine estate which makes him now so splendid, by pretending that he was the adopted son of their father, who, in reality, made no will, on purpose to exclude him: and when those who had married two of his sisters commenced a suit against him for their fortunes, he so malignantly entangled the husband of the eldest in the snares of perverted law, that he caused him unjustly to be marked with infamy; for which, though an action has been brought against him, he has not yet suffered the punishment he deserves; and having hired a slave to assassinate the husband of the second sister, he privately sent the assassin out of Attica, and accused the wife of the murder: then, intimidating her with his audaciousness, and compelling her to be silent, he obtained the guardianship of her son by the deceased, and stripped him of his property, keeping all the cultivated land in his own possession, and giving his ward by way of compensation a few stony fields. There are persons now present who know this to be true; they are

afraid, indeed, of Diocles; but, perhaps they will be ready to give their evidence; if not, I will produce others, who have an equal knowledge of the facts. First, however, call up those who are present. [Witnesses are heard.]

This man then, so profligate and so rapacious, who plundered the inheritance of his sisters, is not contented with that plunder; but, because a just punishment has not yet overtaken him, he comes to deprive me also of my grandfather's estate, and having, as we are credibly informed, promised to give my adversary two minas out of the spoils, has exposed us to the danger of losing not our fortune only, but our country; since, if he can deceive you into a belief that our mother was not a citizen of Athens, neither are we citizens; for we were born after the archonship of Euclid. Is this litigation then, which his lies have set on foot against me, of trifling consequence? When my grandfather and father were alive, no charge whatever was brought against us, and our right was always considered as indisputable; but since their death, it will be some reproach to us, even if we are successful, that our title was ever disputed; a reproach for which we may thank this execrable monster, this frantic Orestes, who, having been caught in adultery, and suffered the chastisement which he deserved, cannot even now desist from his crimes, as many, who well know his guilt, can testify.

The disposition and character of this fellow you have now partly heard, and shall hear it more at large when I have brought him to a trial in a prosecution, which I meditate: in the meantime, I supplicate and adjure you, permit him not to triumph over me, by stripping me of the fortune which my grandfather left; but, as far as each of you is able, give me assistance. Sufficient evidence has been laid before you; we have read our depositions, have opened to you what their slaves would infallibly have confessed, and have produced the laws themselves; by all which we have proved, that we are the sons of Ciron's legitimate daughter, and consequently that his estate comes not to them, but to us, as his lineal descendants: calling therefore to your remembrance the oaths, by which you are bound to decide impartially, and the laws, which have been adduced, pronounce your sentence agreeably to justice. I see no occasion for a longer argument, as I believe you perfectly comprehend the whole case: let the officer, however, read this remaining deposition, that Diocles was taken in adultery. [Deposition is read.]

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FOR EUPHILETUS

Isæus.

This fragment preserved by the critic Dionysius, *De Isæo*, c. 17, is of unique importance as being the only specimen of Isæus' work not concerned with the law of inheritance.

Euphiletus had been struck off the register of his deme on the ground that he was not a true-born citizen, but he had appealed from the decision of his fellow-demesmen to an ordinary court.

YOU have now heard, judges, not only our evidence, but the testimony of all the kinsfolk, that Euphiletos the plaintiff is our brother. Consider, first, what motive our father could have had for telling an untruth, or for adopting this man if he had not been his son. You will find that all who act thus are constrained either by the want of true-born sons or by poverty, hoping for benefits from the persons who by their means have become Athenians. Neither condition applies to our father. He has, in us, two legitimate sons, so that childlessness could not have prompted the adoption. Nor, again, did he look to Euphiletos for maintenance or wealth; he has substance enough; further, it has been deposed before you that he maintained the plaintiff from infancy, educated him, enrolled

him in his clan—and these are no light expenses. Our father, then, was not likely, judges, to attempt anything so unjust when it could do him no good. Nor, again, will I be suspected of such madness as bearing false witness for the plaintiff in order to have my patrimony divided among a larger number. Hereafter, of course, I could not for a moment dispute the relationship; no one of you would endure the sound of my voice, if I, who now, standing in peril of the law, testify that he is our brother, should be found contradicting that statement. The probability is, judges, that true testimony has been borne, not only by us, but by the other kinsmen too. Reflect, in the first place, that the husbands of our sisters would never have perjured themselves in the cause of the plaintiff: his mother was the stepmother of our sisters, and somehow stepmothers and the daughters of a former marriage are wont to disagree: so that, if the plaintiff had been our stepmother's son by another than our father, our sisters, judges, would never have allowed their husbands to be witnesses. Again, our maternal uncle, being, of course, no relation of the plaintiff, would not have gratified the plaintiff's mother by making a false deposition fraught with the manifest injury to us involved in our adoption of a stranger as our brother. Further, judges, how could any of you impute perjury to Demaratos, who stands there, or to Hegesippos, or Nikostratos

—men whose whole lives will show a stainless record, and who, being our intimate friends and knowing us all, have severally testified their kinship with Euphiletos?

I should be glad, then, to learn from the most respected of our adversaries whether he could establish his Athenian citizenship by any other proof than those which we have brought for Euphiletos. For my part, I do not think he could do more than show that both his parents are Athenians, and adduce the testimony of his relatives to the truth of that assertion. Then again, judges, supposing our adversaries were in peril, they would expect you to believe their friends rather than their accusers; as it is, though we have all that testimony on our side, shall they require you to put faith in their own story rather than in Euphiletos, in me and my brother, in our clansmen, in our entire family? Moreover, the adversaries are acting from private enmity, without personal risk to one of their number; we, who give our evidence, stand, one and all, within the peril of the law.

In addition to these testimonies, judges, the mother of Euphiletos, whom the adversaries allow to be an Athenian, was willing to take an oath before the arbitrator at the Delphinion that she and our father are the parents of Euphiletos; and who should know better? Then our father, judges, who ought to be the next best authority, was and

is willing to swear that Euphiletos is his son by his wedded Athenian wife. If this is not enough, judges, I was thirteen years old, as I said before, when Euphiletos was born, and I am ready to swear that Euphiletos is the son of my father. Justly, then, judges, might you deem our oaths more trustworthy than the adversaries' assertions; we are willing to make oath on a matter of which we have accurate knowledge, while they retail hearsay from the plaintiff's ill-wishers, or inventions of their own. We, moreover, bring our kinsmen as witnesses before you as before the arbitrators,—witnesses who have a claim to be believed; while, since Euphiletos brought his first suit against the corporation and its demarch now deceased, the adversaries have failed to find any evidence that he is not my father's son, though the case was before the arbitrator for two years. To the conductors of the arbitration these facts afforded the strongest presumption of falsehood, and both of them decided against the adversaries. (Read the evidence of the former award.) You have heard that the former arbitration went against them. I claim, judges, that just as the adversaries would have urged an award favorable to themselves in evidence of Euphiletos not being the son of Hegesippos, so the opposite result should now be testimony to the truth of our story, since they were adjudged guilty of having erased the name

of Euphiletos, an Athenian citizen, after it had been duly registered. That, then, Euphiletos is our brother and your citizen, and that he has been subjected by the conspirators in his deme to injurious and outrageous treatment, sufficient proof, judges, has, I think, been laid before you.

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LYCURGUS

Lycurgus was probably born previous to 404 B.C., and is said to have derived instruction from Plato and Isocrates. He was one of the warmest supporters of the democracy in the struggle with Philip of Macedon. He filled the office of steward of the public treasury for three periods of five years each; and so managed the finances of the State that they sufficed both for the armament and the embellishment of Athens. During his administration he erected many public buildings, and completed the theatre of Dionysus, and the Panathenaic stadium. He also formed the authoritative texts of the Greek dramatists. He died about 323 B.C. Fifteen years after his death the people decreed him public honors, and a bronze statue of him was set up in the Ceramicus, which was seen by the traveller Pausanias.

In style, he shows his kinship to the earlier Athenians, to Æschylus and Antiphon. Somewhat harsh in his diction and involved in his composition, his profound earnestness, his majestic mien, and his powerful invective made him one of the most impressive of the Attic orators.

Of fifteen speeches attributed to Lycurgus, only one has come down to us, the oration against Leocrates, the accusation against an Athenian citizen for abandoning the city after the battle of Chæronea and settling in another State.

Consult the Teubner edition of Scheibe (1891). See, also, Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit,* iii., 2, pp. 95–135; Jebb, *Attic Orators,* ii., pp. 325–383.

AGAINST LEOCRATES

[Selection.] *Lycurgus.*

Lycurgus brought against Leocrates an indictment for treason, because in 338 B.C. he had fled from Athens on the day that brought the fatal news of Chæronea. In a proem of some length the speaker shows the delicate position of the public accuser in bringing charges against men who have not proven true to their country, and the importance of this trial for the welfare of the State. He then tells the story of Leocrates' offence and shows its heinousness by recalling the heroic deeds of men of ancient times. The tone throughout is lofty and impressive, and the speech is an earnest protest against the degeneracy of the period. The date of the speech is about 332 B.C.

MEN of Athens, in justice and in piety, both for your good and in behalf of the gods, I shall enter upon the charge against Leocrates, the defendant. Wherefore I pray Athena and the other gods, and the heroes whose statues adorn the city and the land, that, if I have justly impeached Leocrates and brought to trial the man who has betrayed their temples, their sanctuaries, their precincts, and their statutory sacred rites, handed down by our forefathers, they make me on this day a worthy accuser of the misdeeds of Leocrates, which is of advantage both to the public and the city. And I pray further that you, who now sit in council for fathers and children and wives and fatherland and temples, and have under your vote the betrayer of

all these, be inexorable judges, not granting pardon either now or for the rest of time, to men who commit such heinous and monstrous offences. But if, on the other hand, I am here bringing to trial one who has not betrayed the fatherland nor deserted the city and the temples of the gods, I pray that he be rescued from the danger both by the gods and by you, judges.

I could wish, gentlemen, just as it is beneficial to the city to have in it men who bring lawbreakers to trial, that the act itself could also be regarded as a deed of kindness in the judgment of the public. But now the reverse of this is true, so that one who runs a personal risk and incurs odium for the public weal, seems to be not a patriot, but a busybody—not justly nor advantageously to the city. Three things are of supreme value in guarding and preserving the democracy and the prosperity of the city—the statutes of the law, the vote of the judges, and the prosecution, which hands over evil-doers to the judges. Thus it is the province of the law to say beforehand what ought not to be done; of the accuser to inform against those who have become liable to the penalties of the law; and of the judges to punish those designated to them by both these, so that neither the law nor the vote of the judges avails without the accuser who surrenders criminals to them.

I, then, Athenians, knowing that Leocrates

Lycurgus.

From an engraving by J. Chapman.

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shunned dangers for his fatherland, deserted his fellow-citizens, betrayed all your resources, and was in consequence liable to all your statutes, have made this impeachment, influenced by no personal grudge, nor rivalry, nor anything of the sort whatever, but because I considered it shameful for us to overlook the fact that this man was outspoken in the Assembly and was sharing our common sacred rites, after he had shown himself a disgrace to his fatherland and to all of you. It is characteristic of a just citizen, not, on account of personal wrongs, to bring public lawsuits against men who have in no respect injured the city, but to regard as personal enemies those who in any way transgress against the fatherland. For offences which affect every man afford every one grounds for personal enmity against those who commit them.

It is proper, then, to regard all state trials of supreme importance, but especially this one on which you are going now to cast your vote. For whenever you judge indictments for proposing unconstitutional measures, you rectify the measure and prevent its adoption, in so far as it was going to be injurious to the city. But the present trial affects the interests of the city, not in some small measure, nor merely for a short time, but the whole fatherland is involved and our decision will go down to posterity as ever-memorable throughout every age. So terrible is the wrong which

has been committed and such magnitude does it possess, that it is impossible to find a worthy accusation or penalty, and not even the laws can determine a punishment worthy of the offences. For what ought not he to suffer who deserted his native land, and neglected his sacred household relics, and forsook the tombs of his ancestors, and delivered the whole city over to the enemy ?

Death, the most severe and extreme of punishments, a necessary penalty according to the law, falls short of the crimes of Leocrates. The law has chanced to omit the penalty concerning such things, gentlemen, not through negligence of the earlier lawgivers, but because in former times no such offence had been committed, nor did they dream that it would ever be committed. Wherefore it especially behoves you, judges, to be not only judges of the present wrong, but also lawmakers. For in cases when the law has defined the treatment of certain offences, it is easy using this as a norm, to punish the offenders. But in such offences which the law has not strictly embraced and specified by name, in cases where one has committed worse offences than those met by the law and has become liable to all the laws alike, it is necessary to hand down your sentence as a norm to your descendants. You know well, gentlemen, that you will now not only condemn and punish this man, but you will also

incite all younger men to virtue. There are two things which instruct the young: the punishment of offenders and the reward offered to good men. Looking to each of these, they shun the one because of fear, and desire the other for the sake of glory. Wherefore, it is necessary, gentlemen, to give attention to this trial and to regard nothing more highly than justice.

I shall conduct the prosecution justly, neither misrepresenting the facts in the case nor speaking off the subject. The most of those who appear before you do something altogether unbecoming; either they give counsel about current matters, or make accusations and speak abusively about everything else except concerning that which you are going to decide by your vote. But neither of these is difficult, either to express an opinion about what you are not deliberating, or to trump up charges on matters to which no one is going to make a reply. It is not right to expect you to render your decision justly when they do not conduct the prosecution justly. However, you are to blame for this, gentlemen; for you have given this privilege to those who appear here, and that too though you have as a most excellent exemplar for the Greeks the Court of the Areopagus, which so far surpasses all other courts of justice that even the condemned acknowledge that their trial was justly conducted. Keeping this Council be-

fore you, you should not attend to those who speak off the subject. Thus will the trial be without prejudice to the accused, and to the prosecutors there will be least occasion for false accusations, while it will enable you to cast your vote altogether in the sense of your oath. Without proper presentation of the case, it is impossible for men who have not been justly instructed to fairly cast their vote.

Let not this fact escape you, gentlemen, that the trial concerning the defendant is not similar to that of other private citizens. For in trying a man unknown to the Greeks it would be only a question for yourselves whether you had voted correctly or improperly. But about the accused, whatever you resolve will be a topic of discussion among all the Greeks. For he has acquired notoriety through his voyage to Rhodes and the information which he gave to your shame to the city of the Rhodians, and to the merchants resident there, who, sailing all over the world in the pursuit of trade, at the same time proclaimed about our city what they had heard from Leocrates. All know that the deeds of your ancestors are directly opposite to the performance of this man. And so it is of the utmost importance to decide correctly concerning him. You know, Athenians, that in what you most differ from other men,—in reverence for the gods, respect for parents, devotion to the fatherland—of these you would seem to be most disre-

gardful, if the accused should escape punishment at your hands.

I beg of you, Athenians, to hear the accusation throughout, and not to be irritated with me if I begin by recounting what then happened to the city, but to be angry with the guilty, on whose account I am compelled now to make mention of those events.

After the battle of Chæronea, when you all rushed to the Assembly, the people decreed that the women and children in the country should be brought within the walls, and that the generals should assign the duties of the defence to the Athenians and other residents as they saw fit. Leocrates, however, without a thought for all this, packed up his property and put it, with his servants, on board the boat—the ship was already at moorings off-shore—and, late in the afternoon, passed with Eirenis through the gate to the public beach, rowed out to the ship, and was gone ; neither pitying those harbors of Athens from which he was putting forth, nor ashamed before the walls of his native city which, for his part, he was leaving defenceless ; nor was he afraid when he saw afar, as he forsook them, the Acropolis and the temples of Zeus Soter, and Athena Soteira, whom anon he will invoke to save him from his perils. And having come into port at Rhodes, as if he were bringing the glad tidings of great successes

achieved by his country, he began to tell how the town had been taken before he left, the Peiræus blockaded,—and he alone left to tell it; nor did he blush to proclaim in one breath his country's fall and his deliverance. So thoroughly did the Rhodians believe this, that they manned their triremes, and forcibly brought into port the merchant vessels; while the merchants or ship-masters who were ready to sail for Athens were led by this man to discharge their corn and other cargoes on the spot. And to prove that what I say is true, the testimonies of all concerned will be read, first those of his neighbors and others living here who knew how this fellow deserted in the war and sailed from Athens, then of those present at Rhodes when Leocrates brought his tidings, and finally the testimony of Phrynichus, who, as the most of you know, accused this fellow before the people, because of the great injuries he inflicted when he was the collector of the port.

But before presenting the witnesses let me briefly confer with you. You are not ignorant, gentlemen, either of the machinations of men under trial or of the entreaties of the accused, but you understand precisely how for the sake of money and favor many of the witnesses were induced to be forgetful or to remain away or to find some other pretext. Demand, therefore, that the witnesses mount the stand, and, neither hesitating nor

making favors of greater weight than you and the city, repay truth and justice to their native city; not deserting their post, nor imitating Leocrates, nor swearing falsely after they have, according to law, taken the sacred oaths. If they do none of these things, we shall summon them into court in behalf of you and the laws and the democracy. Read the depositions.

After this, moreover, gentlemen, when time had elapsed and ships began to arrive at Rhodes from Athens, and it became evident that nothing alarming had occurred in the city, Leocrates, becoming frightened, sailed off again from Rhodes and came to Megara. With a Megarian as patron, he lived more than five years at Megara, not even respecting the boundaries of his country, but settling among neighbors of the country which had nurtured him. And he so condemned himself to perpetual banishment that he summoned from his native city Amyntas, who had married his older sister, and Antigenes of Xypete of his friends, and besought his brother-in-law to buy his slaves and his house, and pay his creditors what he owed them, to pay off his notes, and to return the remainder to him.

. . . . . .

You hear the decree, gentlemen, how it was resolved that the Senate of the Five Hundred go down to the Peiræus in order to arrange its defence

and to take such military measures as seemed advantageous to the people. And, gentlemen, if those exempt from army duty for the sake of deliberating concerning the city, passed their time in the ranks of the soldiers, do the dangers then confronting the city seem to you small? In those very times this fellow, Leocrates here, ran off from the city, and carried away his property, and sent after his sacred household relics, and reached such a pitch of treason that by his own choice the temples were deserted, the garrisons of the city were deserted, the city and the land were deserted.

In those days, Athenians, who would not have pitied the city—what citizen, aye, or what stranger that had formerly visited it? Who was then so bitter against the democracy or against Athens that he could have endured to find himself without a place in the ranks of the defenders, when the news came of the defeat and the disaster that had befallen the people, when the city was all excitement at the tidings, when the hopes of public safety had come to rest on the men past fifty, when you might see free-born women crouching in terror at the house-doors, asking if he is alive—the husband, the father, or the brother—a sight humiliating for the city and for her daughters; when men decrepit of frame, well stricken in years, released by the laws from service under arms, men on the threshold that leads from age to death,

might be seen hurrying helplessly through the city, with their mantles pinned around them in double folds? But, many as were the miseries in the city, great as was the ruin that had come to all the citizens, the keenest grief, the bitterest tears were due to the fortunes of the city itself —when the edict, declaring slaves to be freemen, aliens to be Athenians, the disenfranchised to be reinstated, was read by any man who once, perhaps, had prided himself on being a free-born son of the Attic soil. The reverse that had befallen the city was even this: formerly she had vindicated the freedom of the Greeks—then she thought it enough if she could successfully defend her own existence; formerly she had ruled far and wide over the land of barbarians—then she was battling with Macedonians for her own; and the people whose aid was once invoked by Lacedæmonians, by Peloponnesians, and by the Greeks of Asia, was driven to seek succor for itself from the men of Andros, of Ceos, of Trœzen, of Epidaurus.

And so, Athenians, the man who in such perils, and such dangers and such humiliation, deserted his city, who did not take up arms in behalf of his fatherland, nor offer his body to the generals for service, but went off in flight and betrayed the public safety—what judge who loved his city and wished to live piously would acquit him with his vote, or what orator, when asked, would aid the

betrayer of his city, who did not dare to join in mourning the misfortunes of the fatherland, nor contribute anything for the salvation of the city and of the people? And yet in those times there was no stage of life which did not offer itself for the public safety, when the land contributed trees, the dead their vaults, and the temples, arms. Some looked after the preparing of the walls, others of the trenches, others of the palisading. None of the men in the city were idle. For none of these services did Leocrates offer himself. Mindful of this, it is likely that you will punish with death one who did not deign either to assist in laying out or in burying those who died at Chæronea in behalf of the public freedom and safety, just as if he, for his part, had left them unburied; yet, passing by their tombs eight years after, this fellow was not ashamed to call their native land his own.

. . . . . .

I am greatly incensed, gentlemen, whenever I hear one of this fellow's comrades say that to go away from the city was not an act of betrayal, on the ground that our ancestors left the city when they were warring with Xerxes, and went across to Salamis. He is so senseless and in every respect so contemptuous of you as to deem it right to compare the most shameful of deeds with the most honorable. For where has not the valor of those men become famous? Who is so

invidious, or so totally lacking in love of honor, that he would not have prayed to share in the deeds of those men? They did not leave the city in the lurch, but they changed their base of operations, planning how wisely to meet the imminent danger. Eteonicus the Lacedæmonian, Adeimantus the Corinthian, and the fleet of the Æginetans were preparing to provide safety for themselves under cover of the night. But our ancestors, though deserted by all the Greeks, by force even won deliverance for the rest, having compelled them to fight by their side against the barbarian at Salamis. And alone they overcame both, enemies and allies, as it beseemed each, benefiting the one and conquering in battle the other. Forsooth, very similar was this to this man's flight from his fatherland in a four days' voyage to Rhodes!

In sooth, would any one of those men have endured such a deed? Nay! they would have straightway stoned to death him who had brought reproach upon their valor. At any rate, they so loved their fatherland that they all but stoned to death Alexander, the ambassador from Xerxes, who had hitherto been their friend, because he demanded earth and water. And if they demanded satisfaction even for words, in very truth they would have punished with the severest punishments him who betrayed their city to the enemy.

Observing such noble ideals, for ninety years

they maintained their supremacy over the Greeks; they plundered Phœnicia and Cilicia, at the Eurymedon they conquered both in infantry battle and in naval combat, they took captive a hundred triremes of the barbarians, they sailed around the whole of Asia committing rapine; and—the height of victory—they did not rest content with raising the trophy at Salamis, but they determined bounds for the barbarians, to preserve the liberties of Greece, and prevented them from transgressing them; they made covenants that the barbarians would not sail with a large boat within Cyaneæ and Phaselis, and that the Greeks should be autonomous, not only those of Europe, but also those who dwell in Asia.

And yet do you imagine if, carrying out the designs of Leocrates, all had fled, any of these noble deeds would have been done, or that you would still be inhabiting this land? It is right then, Athenians, just as you praise and honor the good, so also to hate and to punish the bad, especially Leocrates, who neither feared nor respected you.

. . . . . .

Moreover, Athenians, it is impossible for you alone of the Greeks to overlook any of these evil deeds. Let me recount to you a few stories of the ancients, which if you use as precedents, you will resolve more wisely concerning this and other matters. For our city has this exceeding good

fortune, that it has become to the Greeks the exemplar of noble actions. For inasmuch as it is the most ancient of all cities in time, so have our ancestors exceeded all other men in valor.

For example, in the reign of Codrus, when a dearth prevailed in their land, the Peloponnesians decided to make an expedition against our city, and, after expelling our forefathers, to portion out the land among themselves. And first they sent to Delphi and asked the god if they would take Athens. When the god replied that they would take the city if they did not slay Codrus, the King of the Athenians, they took the field against Athens. Cleomantis, however, one of the Delphians, ascertained the response and secretly made it known to the Athenians. Thus did our ancestors, as was fitting, ever have men, even from a distance, well disposed to them. When the Peloponnesians made this invasion of Attica, what did our forefathers, gentlemen of the Court? They neither deserted the fatherland and ran away like Leocrates, nor did they betray and surrender to the enemy the land which had nurtured them and their sacred shrines, but, though few in numbers, when invested, they endured the siege and remained faithful to their country.

And so high-minded, Athenians, were the kings of that time, that they preferred to die for the deliverance of their subjects rather than to live and

remove to a new country. At any rate, they tell the story that King Codrus, after bidding the Athenians to give heed whenever he should end his life, took a beggar's mantle, in order to deceive the enemy, and slipped it on at the gates, and began gathering sticks before the city. When two men from the enemy's camp approached him and made inquiries about affairs within the city, he fell upon one of them with his short sword and slew him; whereupon the survivor, enraged at Codrus, and taking him for a beggar, drew his sword and killed him in turn. After this had occurred, the Athenians sent a herald and besought the enemy to give them their king to bury, telling them the whole truth. The Peloponnesians then gave up the body, and knowing that it was no longer possible for them to subdue the land, they withdrew. To Cleomantis the Delphian and his descendants the Athenians gave perpetual public maintenance in the Prytaneum.

What! the kings of that time loved their native land similarly to Leocrates! What! they who chose to deceive the enemy and to die in its behalf, and to give their own souls in return for the common safety. In consequence, they above all others are the eponymous heroes of the land, obtaining divine honors, fittingly—for even though dead they justly have a share in the land for which they were so zealous.

Leocrates, neither living nor dead, would justly share in this, but he above all others would with perfect justice be banished from the land betrayed to the enemy. For it is not fitting for the same earth to cover those who excel in virtue and the basest of all men.

And yet he has attempted to say, what even now, perhaps, he will say to you, that he would never have faced this trial, if he had had the consciousness of committing such a deed. As if all criminals, as thieves and temple robbers, did not present this proof. It is a proof, not that they did not commit the deed, but of the shamelessness which characterized them. For it does not behove him to say this, but rather that he did not sail off and leave the city in the lurch nor live in Megara. These are evidences of his crime, since as regards his coming back, I believe some divinity is leading him to his punishment, in order that, as he fled glorious peril, he might obtain inglorious and disgraceful death, and those whom he betrayed, into their hands he might fall. If he were unfortunate elsewhere, it would not yet be manifest whether he suffers punishment on account of these crimes; but here among those whom he has betrayed, it is evident that he suffers this punishment for his transgressions. For the first thing the gods do is to bewilder the senses of base men. And some of the ancient poets, as if

composing oracles, seem to me to have left these iambics to their descendants :

"Whenever divine wrath visits any one it first takes away from his mind his sense, and puts in its place poor judgment, that he may be ignorant of the sins he commits."

Who of the elder does not remember, and who of the younger men has not heard of Callistratus, on whom the city pronounced sentence of death, how he was in exile, and having been told by the god in Delphi that if he came back to Athens he would get justice, he returned and took refuge at the altar of the Twelve Gods ; and none the less he was put to death by the city ? Justly ; for to evil-doers obtaining justice is punishment. The god at least rightly surrendered the guilty one to the wronged for punishment. Strange would it be, indeed, if to the pious and the impious alike there should appear to be the same interpretation of divine oracles.

It is my profound conviction, Athenians, that Providence carefully observes all human actions, and especially marks manifestations of regard for parents, reverence for the dead, and fidelity to one's self. Properly so. For in regard to those from whom we draw the breath of life and receive the most blessings, not only flagrant wrong-doing, but even not passing our whole lives in doing them kindness, is the grossest impiety. There is a story

—though it is rather mythical, yet it will be appropriate for you younger men to hear it—that in Sicily a stream of lava once flowed from Ætna, and they say that this flowed over the whole land, and particularly down upon a certain city of the inhabitants. All there started off in flight, but one of the younger men, seeing that his father, being advanced in years, was not able to get away, but was on the point of being caught in the lava, took him up and was carrying him off. Because of the additional burden, I fancy, he himself was caught. And now it is worth our while to see how the divine power is disposed to good men. For it is said that the molten lava flowed around that spot in a circle, and that the two alone were saved, from which fact the place is spoken of, even up to the present time, as the "place of the pious." But of those who made a hasty retreat and deserted their parents, all were overtaken in the stream and perished.

And so also must you, respecting this token of divine justice, with one accord inflict punishment upon this man, who for his part has made himself chargeable with all the most heinous crimes. For he has deprived the gods of their national honors, he has deserted his parents to the enemy, he has forbidden the dead to obtain the customary burial rites.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

PERORATION

Be sure, judges, that each of you, by the vote which he now gives in secret, will lay his thought bare to the gods. And I deem that this day, judges, you are passing a collective sentence on all the greatest and most dreadful forms of crime, of all of which Leocrates is manifestly guilty; on treason, since he abandoned the city to its troubles and brought it under the hand of the enemy; on subversion of the democracy, since he did not stand the ordeal of the struggle for freedom; on impiety, since he has done what one man could to obliterate the sacred precincts and to demolish the temples; on ill-treatment of parents, for he sought to destroy the monuments, and to abolish the liturgy of the dead; on a soldier's desertion of his post and avoidance of his duty, for he did not place his personal service at the disposal of the generals. Who, then, will acquit this man—who will condone misdeeds which were deliberate? Who is so foolish as, by saving this man, to place his own safety at the mercy of cowardly deserters? Who will show compassion to this man, and so elect to die unpitied at the hands of the enemy? Who will conciliate the gratitude of his country's betrayer, in order to make himself obnoxious to the vengeance of the gods?

In the cause of my country, of the temples, and

of the laws, I have fairly and justly set forth the issue, without disparaging or vilifying the defendant's private life or bringing any irrelevant accusation. You must reflect, every one of you, that to acquit Leocrates is to pass sentence of death and enslavement on your country. Two urns are before you; and the votes which you give are, in the one case, for the overthrow of your city, in the other, for its safety and its domestic welfare. If you should absolve Leocrates, you will vote for betraying the city, the temples, and the ships; if you put him to death, you will exhort men to cherish and preserve their country, her revenues and her prosperity. Deem, then, Athenians, that a prayer goes up to you from the very land and all its groves, from the harbors, from the arsenals, from the walls of the city, deem that the shrines and holy places are summoning you to protect them, and, remembering the charges against him, make Leocrates a proof that compassion and tears do not prevail with you over solicitude for the laws and the commonweal.

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HYPEREIDES

Hypereides was born about 390 B.C. and was a pupil of Plato and Isocrates. He began his career as a professional speech-writer. In the contest with Macedon, he was a steadfast ally of Demosthenes, but afterwards spoke against Demosthenes when the latter was charged with receiving bribes from Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, and contributed to his condemnation. After the death of Alexander, he was the chief instigator of the Lamian War, and after its unfortunate close he, with Demosthenes and other patriots, was condemned to death. He fled to a temple in Ægina, but was dragged from it, and by order of Antipater was put to death in 322 B.C. at Corinth.

His speeches are noted for their skill of construction and the grace and charm of their expression. To beauty of style he added the tact, wit, irony, and perfect taste of an accomplished man of the world.

Papyrus manuscripts, discovered in Egypt at different times, have yielded all we have of Hypereides except a few fragments: in 1842, fragments of a speech for Lycophron, the speech for Euxenippus, and fragments of the speech against Demosthenes in the Harpalus trial; in 1856, an important part of the Funeral Oration over those who had fallen in the Lamian War; and in 1888, the mutilated remains of the orations against Athenogenes and Philippides.

The text of the first four orations is edited by Blass (1881) in the Teubner series; there is a good edition of the orations for Lycophron and Euxenippus by Babington, with facsimiles of the MSS. (Cambridge, 1853); and F. G. Kenyon has published the texts of the orations against Athenogenes and Philippides with an excellent English translation (London, 1893).

The best account of his oratory is that of Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit,* iii., 2, pp. 1–72 (1877); see also Jebb, *Attic Orators,* ii., pp. 381–392.

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CIRCU... ...MENT.

AGAINST PHILIPPIDES

Hypereides.

This oration arose out of the hostility of the Pro-Macedonian and Anti-Macedonian parties at Athens, and is of importance because of its effect on public interests. Philippides had proposed to vote a crown to the presidents at a certain sitting of the Assembly, "for their upright and legal action in passing a vote of honor to the King of Macedon." Hypereides brought a charge against Philippides for proposing an unconstitutional measure, intending thereby to inflict a blow on the Macedonian party. The speech was probably delivered shortly after Alexander's departure from his first visit to Greece.

Only the conclusion of the oration is preserved. After attacking the Macedonian party generally, Hypereides directs his remarks against Democrates of Aphidna, perhaps a supporter of the defendant. He closes with a final summary of the case and a peroration.

GENTLEMEN, I have but a few more words to say to you by way of recapitulation, and then I will sit down. The issue on which you are about to give your votes is an indictment for proposing an illegal resolution in the Assembly. The resolution thus arraigned is a vote of thanks to the presidential committee. Now, you have heard the laws read, and know that the presidents are bound to exercise their office in accordance with the law, and that these presidents have acted contrary to the law. The matter now rests in your hands. You will show by your votes whether you

intend to punish those who propose illegal resolutions, or to grant to those who have illegally abused their position as presidents the honors which are by custom assigned to public benefactors; and you will remember that you are under oath to give your votes in accordance with the law.

Perhaps they will plead that the Assembly passed the vote of honor under compulsion; but you must not be beguiled by so fallacious a plea for a moment. They cannot say that there was any compulsion to vote a crown of honor to the presidents. But, apart from this, the defendant has himself made the question easy for us to decide, by his statement of the grounds upon which he bestowed this crown upon them. The words are "because they have been upright in their dealings with the State, and have administered their office in accordance with the laws."

That is the issue: now bring him forth to make his defence on it. You, sir, Philippides, prove the truth of your statement about the conduct of the presidents. Justify the assumption upon which your proposal is based, and so secure your acquittal if you can.

Perhaps you think that your customary jests and buffoonery will avail you in the courts also and win you an acquittal. If so, you are simple indeed. Do you imagine that there is any store of pity or compassion for you here which may divert the

course of justice? Far from it. You have laid up no good-will towards yourself in the hearts of the people. On the contrary, you never used to think it worth while to devote any blandishments to those in whose hands your salvation is now placed; you reserved them all for the enemies of your country. You were foolish enough to suppose that a single individual's life would last forever, and you passed sentence of death on a State that has known so long a life as ours. It did not strike you that of all the despots of former days not one has ever returned to life after having once died, while many cities that have been utterly destroyed have flourished again in newness of strength. You did not reflect how, in the days of the Thirty, our country survived the assaults alike of foreign invaders and of their domestic allies. No, you have been caught red-handed, on the watch for opportunities to inflict injury upon the State, whether by word or deed. Opportunities indeed! In a few minutes you will be brazenly declaring that you never watched for opportunities of doing harm to the country; and you have brought your children with you into court, and in a few moments you will be calling them up into the box and adjuring the judges to have pity on them. You have no right to pity. When all beside you expressed grief for the disasters which befell the country, you exulted over it. The heroes who suffered then experienced

a fate unworthy of their deserts, for they were striving to save Hellas; but you, in the vote that is about to be given, will receive a righteous recompense for having dragged the country through the depths of undeserved disgrace.

Yes, for why should you spare him? Because he is a Democrat? On the contrary, you know that he has always preferred to serve our despots, and arrogates to himself the right of dictating to the people. Then because he is upright? Why, you have twice convicted him of dishonesty! Ah, but he is a useful tool. Well, but if you use as a tool a man whom you have notoriously condemned as an evil-doer, you will either show that your condemnation was wrong, or that you have a preference for evil-doers. It is not right that you should, of your own whim, acquiesce in this scoundrel's misdeeds. It is your duty to execute justice on the offender. If it should be pleaded that he has already been twice convicted for proposing illegal resolutions, and that consequently you ought to let him off this time, both premise and conclusion should be turned the other way. In the first place, it is a stroke of good fortune to have got a man, who has admittedly been guilty of proposing illegal resolutions, for the third time in the dock before you; since there is no reason to spare him, as though he were an honest man, but, on the contrary, there is every reason to rid yourselves as

quickly as possible of one who has twice already given public proof of his iniquity. And, secondly, take the precedent of convictions for perjury. Persons twice convicted of perjury, together with those in whose favor they have given false evidence, are excused from appearing subsequently as witnesses, in order that it may not be said that compulsion by the State has been the cause of any citizen being disfranchised. He must himself take the responsibility for his own disgrace, if he will not cease from bearing false witness.

Similarly, those who have been found guilty of proposing illegal resolutions are perfectly free to abstain from proposing resolutions in the future; and if they do not so abstain, it is plain that some private interest is the motive of their action, and consequently they do not deserve pity, but punishment.

Now, that I may not weary you by speaking at undue length, the clerk shall read the indictment to you once again; and then do you, when your memories have been refreshed as to the charges that have been brought home to the defendant, and when you have heard the words of the law read aloud in your ears, give a vote in which justice and your own interests shall alike be satisfied.

Translated by F. G. Kenyon, for "Hyperides," published by George Bell & Sons, London. Reprinted by permission.

FUNERAL ORATION

Hypereides.

Hypereides was appointed in 322 B.C. to deliver the usual funeral oration over Leosthenes and his comrades, who had fallen in the Lamian War. For a century and a half it had been an Athenian custom that an oration should be delivered at the public funeral of those who had died fighting for their country. Despite this custom, the following fragment is the only extant specimen of the many orations delivered at Athens over the dead. In the treatise On the Sublime, this speech is ranked as the highest effort of panegyric oratory. The year of its delivery is memorable for the death of Hypereides himself, of Demosthenes, and of Aristotle.

LEOSTHENES, aware that all Hellas was abased, panic-stricken, ruined by those who take bribes from Philip and Alexander against their native cities,—that Athens was in need of a man, and all Hellas in need of a city, capable of exercising leadership, — gave himself as an offering to Athens, and Athens as an offering to the freedom of Greece. Then, having organized a force of mercenaries, and put himself at the head of the citizens, he saw the first who took the field against Hellenic freedom—Bœotians, Macedonians, Eubœans and their allies—fall before him on a Bœotian plain. Thence he went to the Gates — seized those passes through which of old barbarians

marched against Greeks, arrested the Greece-ward progress of Antipater, found Antipater himself in those regions, beat him in a battle, imprisoned and besieged him in Lamia; made allies of the Thessalians, Phocians, Ætolians and other people of the country; and, where Philip and Alexander had gloried in an extorted submission, received the tribute of voluntary loyalty. His, indeed, it was to perform the cause that he had taken in hand; but not to evade the doom of destiny. And in justice we must give Leosthenes our gratitude, not merely for all that he did himself, but also for the victory won after his death, and for the other benefits which the campaign has brought to Greece; for it is on the foundations laid by Leosthenes that the achievements of his successors are arising. . . .

With us, and with all the living, as we have seen, they shall ever have renown; but in the dark under-world—suffer us to ask—who are they that will stretch forth a right hand to the captain of our dead? May we not deem that Leosthenes will be greeted with welcome and wonder by those half-gods who bore arms against Troy—he who set himself to deeds germane with theirs, but in this surpassed them, that while they, aided by all Hellas, took one town, he, supported by his own city alone, humbled the power that ruled Europe and Asia? They avenged the wrong

offered to one woman; he stayed the insults that were being heaped on all the cities of Hellas—he and those who are sharing his last honors—men who, coming after the heroes, wrought deeds of heroic worth. Aye, and there, I deem, will be Miltiades and Themistocles, and those others who made Hellas free, to the credit of their city, to the glory of their names—whom this man surpassed in courage and in counsel, seeing that they repelled the power of the barbarians when it had come against them, but he forbade its approach; they saw the foemen fighting in their own country, but he worsted his enemies on the enemy's soil. And surely they who gave the people trusty proof of their mutual love, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, will count no friends so near to themselves, or so faithful to you, as Leosthenes and those who strove beside him, nor will they so consort with any dwellers in the place of the dead. Well may it be so, since these have done deeds not less than theirs, but, if it may be said, even greater; for they put down the despots of their own city, but these put down the despots of Hellas. O beautiful and wonderful enterprise, O glorious and magnificent devotion, O soldiership transcendant in dangers, which these offered to the freedom of Greece! . . .

It is hard, perhaps, to comfort those who are in such a sorrow; grief is not laid to rest by speech

or by observance; rather is it for the nature of the mourner and the nearness of the lost, to determine the boundaries of anguish. Still, we must take heart, and lighten pain as we may, and remember not only the death of the departed but the good name also that they have left behind them. We owe not tears to their fate, but rather great praises to their deeds. If they came not to old age among men, they have got the glory that never grows old, and have been made blessed perfectly. Those among them who died childless shall have as their inheritors the immortal eulogies of Greece; and those of them who have left children behind them have bequeathed a trust of which their country's love will assume the guardianship. More than this—if to die is to be as though we had never been, then these have passed away from sickness and pain and from all the accidents of the earthly life; or, if there is feeling in the under-world, and if, as we conjecture, the care of the Divine Power is over it, then it may well be that they who rendered aid to the worship of the gods in the hour of its eminent desolation are most precious to that power's providence.

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ON THE HALONNESUS

Hegesippus.

Hegesippus was at the head of an embassy sent in 343 B.C. from Athens to Philip to negotiate concerning the restoration of the island of Halonnesus and other matters. Philip rejected the terms of the Athenians, but in the following year sent an embassy to present the island to Athens. During the debate on this offering the following speech was delivered. It is included among Demosthenes' works, but is really the composition of Hegesippus, one of the most eloquent and able orators of the Anti-Macedonian party.

MEN of Athens! It is by no means reasonable that the complaints which Philip urges against those speakers who assert your rights should deprive us of the liberty of enforcing the true interests of our country. Grievous, indeed, would be the case if the freedom of our public debates were to be at once destroyed by a letter sent from him. It is my present purpose, first, to examine the several allegations mentioned in this letter; then shall we proceed to the other particulars urged by his ambassadors.

Philip begins with speaking of the Halonnesus: this island, he declares, is his; that he presents it to us as a free gift; that we have no rightful claims to it; nor hath he injured our property either in

acquiring or in keeping possession of it. Such were his professions at the time when we were sent on our embassy to Macedon: that he had won this island from the pirates who had seized it, and was therefore justified in keeping his acquisition. But, as this plea hath no support from truth and justice, it is not difficult to deprive him of it. The places seized by pirates are ever the property of some others; these they fortify, and from thence make their excursions. But the man who punishes their outrages, and drives them out, cannot reasonably allege that the possessions which these pirates unjustly wrested from the rightful proprietors must instantly devolve to him. If this be suffered, then, if some pirates should seize a part of Attica, or of Lemnos, or of Imbros, or of Scyros, and if any power should cut them off—the places which they had seized, though our undoubted property, must continue in his possession whose arms chastised these pirates. Philip is himself sensible of the weakness of this plea. There are others equally sensible of this; but it is imagined easy to impose on you by means of those who are administering our affairs agreeably to the wishes of the Macedonian; who promised him, and are now performing this service. Yet he cannot but know that we must come into possession of this island, in whatever terms our transaction may be expressed, whether you accept it or resume it. Why then

should he not use the fair and equitable term, and restore it, rather than adhere to that word which proves his injustice, and pretend to present it as a gift? Not that he may be supposed to confer a benefit on us (such benefits are ridiculous); but that he may demonstrate to all Greece that the Athenians think themselves happy in owing their maritime dominions to the favor of the Macedonian. O my countrymen! let us not descend to this.

As to his proposal of submitting this contest to umpires, it is the language of derision and mockery. It supposes, in the first place, that we, who are Athenians, could, in our disputes with one sprung from Pella, descend to have our title to the islands determined by arbitration. And if our own power, that power to which Greece owes its liberty, cannot secure us the possession of these places; if umpires are to be appointed; if we are to commit our cause to them; if their votes are absolutely to decide our rights; and if they are to secure to us these islands (provided that they be influenced by Philip's gold)—if such, I say, be your conduct, do ye not declare that ye have resigned all your power on the continent? do ye not discover to the world that no attempt can possibly provoke you to oppose him, when for your maritime dominions, whence Athens derives its greatest power, you have not recourse to arms, but submit to umpires?

He further observes, that his commissioners have

been sent hither to settle a cartel of commerce; and that this shall be confirmed, not when it hath received the sanction of your tribunal, as the law directs, but when it hath been returned to him. Thus would he assume a power over your judicature. His intention is to betray you into unguarded concessions, to have it expressly acknowledged in this cartel that you do not accuse him of injuring the State by his outrageous conduct with respect to Potidæa; that you confirm his right both of seizing and possessing this city. And yet those Athenians who had settled in Potidæa — at a time when they were not at war with Philip; when they were united with him in alliance; when the most solemn engagements subsisted between them; when they had the utmost reliance on Philip's oaths—were yet despoiled by this prince of all their possessions. And now he would have you ratify this his iniquitous procedure, and declare that you have suffered no injury, that you have no complaints to urge against him: for that the Macedonians have no need of any cartels in their commerce with the Athenians, former times afford sufficient proof. Neither Amyntas, the father of Philip, nor any of the other kings of Macedon ever made these cartels with our State, although our intercourse was much greater in those days than now: for Macedon was then subject to us; it paid us tribute; and then, much more than now,

did we frequent their markets, and they enjoy the advantages of ours; nor were the tribunals, to which affairs of commerce might be brought, settled in so regular a manner as at present. As these are opened once in each month, they make all cartels between two countries so far removed from each other quite unnecessary. And as these were not agreeable to ancient usage, it is by no means prudent to establish them now, and thus to subject men to the inconvenience of a voyage from Macedon to Athens, or from us to Macedon, in order to obtain justice. The laws of each country are open; and they are sufficient for the decision of all controversies. Be assured, therefore, that by this cartel he means but to betray you into a resignation of all your pretensions to Potidæa.

As to the pirates, he observes that justice requires that we should act in concert with him, in order to guard against those who infest the seas. By this he in effect desires that we should resign to him the sovereignty of the seas, and acknowledge that without Philip's aid we are not able to secure a navigation free and unmolested. Nor is this his only scheme. He would have an uncontrolled liberty of sailing round and visiting the several islands, under the pretence of defending them from pirates, that so he may corrupt the inhabitants, and seduce them from their allegiance to us. Not contented with transporting his exiles

to Thasus under the conduct of our commanders, he would gain possession of the other islands by sending out his fleets to sail in company with our admirals, as if united with us in defence of the seas. There are some who say that he hath no occasion for a maritime power; yet he who hath no occasion to secure such a power prepares his ships for war, erects his arsenals, concerts his naval expeditions, and, by the vast expense bestowed on his marine, plainly shows that it is the grand object of his attention. And can you think, ye men of Athens! that Philip could desire you to yield to him this sovereignty of the seas unless he held you in contempt? unless he had firm reliance on the men whose services he determined to purchase? the men who, insensible to shame, live for Philip, not for their country; who vainly fancy they have enriched their families by the bribes received from him, when these bribes are really the prices for which they have sold their families.

And now with respect to the explanation of the articles of peace, which the ambassadors commissioned by him submitted to our determination (as we insisted only on a point universally acknowledged to be just, that each party should enjoy their own dominions), he denies that ever his ambassadors were commissioned to make, or ever did make, such a concession; so that his partisans must have persuaded him that you have utterly

forgotten the declarations made publicly in the assembly. But these of all things cannot possibly be forgotten; for in the very same assembly his ambassadors rose, and made these declarations; and, in consequence of them, the decree was instantly drawn up. As, then, the recital of the decree immediately succeeded the speeches of the ambassadors, it is not possible that you could have recited their declarations falsely. This, then, is an insinuation, not against me, but against the assembly; as if you had transmitted a decree containing an answer to points never once mentioned. But these ambassadors, whose declarations were thus falsified, at the time when we returned our answer in form and invited them to a public entertainment, never once rose up, never once ventured to say, "Men of Athens, we have been misrepresented; you have made us say what we never said;" but acquiesced, and departed.

Recollect, I entreat you, the declarations of Python, who was at the head of this embassy, the man who then received the public thanks of the assembly. They cannot, I presume, have escaped your memory; and they were exactly consonant to Philip's present letter. He accused us of calumniating Philip; he declared that you yourselves were to be blamed; for when his master was endeavoring to do you service, when he preferred your alliance to that of any other of the Grecian

States, you defeated his kind intentions by listening to sycophants who wished to receive his money, and yet loaded him with invectives; that when those speeches were repeated to him in which his reputation was so severely treated, and which you heard with such satisfaction, he naturally changed his determination, as he found that he was regarded as devoid of faith by those whom he had resolved to oblige. He desired that the men who spoke in this assembly should not declaim against the peace, which certainly was not to be broken; but that if any article was amiss it should be amended, in which we might be assured of Philip's entire concurrence. But that, if they continued their invectives, without proposing anything by which the treaty might be confirmed and all suspicions of his master removed, then no attention should be given to such men. You heard these declarations of Python; you assented; you said that they were just; and just they certainly were. But by these professions it was by no means intended to give up an article of the treaty so essential to his interest; to give up what all his treasures had been expended to obtain: no; he had been taught by his instructors of this place, that not a man would dare to propose anything contradictory to that decree of Philocrates by which we lost Amphipolis. I, on my part, Athenians, never have presumed to propose anything illegal.

I have, indeed, ventured to speak against the decree of Philocrates, because it was illegal. For this decree, by which Amphipolis was lost, contradicted former decrees, by which our right to this territory was asserted. This, then, was an illegal decree which Philocrates proposed; and, therefore, he who had the due regard to our laws in all that he proposed could not but contradict a decree so inconsistent with our laws. By conforming to the ancient legal acts of this assembly, I showed the due attention to the laws, and at the same time proved that Philip was deceiving you; that he had no intention of amending any article of the treaty; that his sole purpose was to destroy the credit of those speakers who asserted the rights of their country.

It is then manifest, that having first consented to this amendment of the treaty, he now recalls his concession. He insists that Amphipolis is his; that you have acknowledged it to be his by the very words of your decree, which declare that he shall enjoy his own possessions. Such was, indeed, your declaration: but not that Amphipolis was Philip's; for a man may possess the property of others; nor can possession infer a right, since it is frequently acquired by unjust usurpation. So that his argument is no more than an idle sophistical equivocation. He insists particularly on the decree of Philocrates, but he forgets his letter to this State

at the time when he laid siege to Amphipolis, in which he directly acknowledged that Amphipolis belonged to you, and declared that his intention in attacking this city was to wrest it from the then possessors, who had no claim to it, and to vest it in the Athenians, who were the rightful sovereigns. Well, then, the men who were in possession of this city before Philip's conquest usurped our right; but when Philip had reduced it, did our right cease at once? Did he but recover his own dominions? When he reduced Olynthus also, when he subdued Apollonia, when he gained Pallene, did he but recover his own dominions? When he makes use of such evasion, can you think that he is at all solicitous to preserve a decent semblance of reason and justice? No; he treats you with contempt in presuming to dispute your title to a city which the whole nation of Greece, which the Persian king himself by the most authentic declarations acknowledged to be ours.

Another amendment of the treaty which we contended for was this: that all the Greeks not included in the peace should enjoy their liberty and their laws; and that, if invaded, they should be defended by all the confederating parties. For this, I say, we contended, sensible that justice and humanity required not only that we and our allies, and Philip and his allies, should enjoy the advantages of the peace, but that those who were neither

allies to Athens nor to Macedon should by no means lie exposed to the oppression of any powerful invader; that they also should derive security from the peace, and that we should in reality lay down our arms and live in general friendship and tranquillity. This amendment his letter confesses to be just; you hear that he accepts it. And yet hath he overturned the State of the Pheræans; he hath introduced his garrison into the citadel; certainly, that they may enjoy their own laws. His arms are directed against Ambracia. Three cities in Cassopia, Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elatia, all Elean colonies, hath he invaded with fire and sword, and reduced to the vassalage of his kinsman Alexander; glorious proofs of his concern for the liberty and independence of the Greeks!

As to those promises of great and important services which he was perpetually lavishing on the State, he now asserts that I have belied and abused him to the Greeks, for that he never once made such promises; so devoid of shame is he, who declared in his letter, which still remains on record, that he would effectually silence his revilers when an accommodation was once obtained, by the number of good offices he would confer on us, and which should be particularly specified whenever he was assured of such an accommodation! These his favors, then, were all provided, and ready to be granted to us when the peace should be concluded;

but, when this peace was once concluded, all his favors vanished. How great havoc hath been made in Greece you need not be informed. His letters assure us of his gracious intentions to bestow large benefits on us; and now, see the effect of his promises. He refuses to restore our dominions; he claims them as his own. And as to granting us any new dominions, they must not be in this country. No; the Greeks might else be offended. Some other country must be sought for, some foreign land must furnish such grants.

As to those places which he seized in time of peace, in open violation of his engagements, as he hath no pretence to urge, as he stands convicted manifestly of injustice, he says that he is ready to submit these points to the decision of an equal and common tribunal. But they are points which, of all others, need no decision. A fair computation of time determines the cause at once. We all know in what month and on what day the peace was made. We all know, too, in what month and on what day Serrium, Ergiske, and the Sacred Mount were taken. The nature and manner of these transactions are no secret. Nor is there need of a tribunal in a point so evident as this, that the peace was made one month before these places were seized.

He asserts that he hath returned all your prisoners that were taken. Yet there was one prisoner, a man of Carystus, bound to this city by all the

strictest ties, for whose liberty we sent no less than three deputations. Such was Philip's desire to oblige us, that he put this man to death, nay, refused to restore his body for interment.

It is also worthy of attention to consider what was the language of his letters with respect to the Chersonesus, and to compare it with his present actions. All that district which lies beyond the forum he claims as his own, in defiance of our pretensions, and hath given the possession to Apollonides the Cardian; and yet the Chersonesus is bounded, not by the forum, but by the altar of Jupiter of the Mountain, which lies in midway between the elm and the chalky shore, where the line was traced for cutting through the Chersonesus. This is evident from the inscription on the altar of Jupiter of the Mountain, which is in these terms:

"Here Jove's fair altar, rais'd by pious hands,
Adorns at once and marks the neighboring lands;
On this side, lo! yon chalky cliffs display'd;
On that, the elm extends its awful shade;
While, in midway, even Heaven's great monarch deigns
To point the bound'ries and divide the plains."

This district, then, whose extent is known to many in this assembly, he claims as his property; part of it he himself enjoys, the rest he gives to his creatures; and thus he deprives us of our most valuable possessions. But he is not content with

wresting from us all the lands which lie beyond the forum; his letter directs us to come to a judicial decision of any controversy we may have with the Cardians who lie on this side of the forum—with the Cardians, I say, who have presumed to settle in our lands. We have indeed a controversy with these men, and judge ye whether the subject be inconsiderable. The lands where they have settled they claim as their just property, and deny our title. The lands that we enjoy they declare are unlawfully usurped; that they themselves are the rightful proprietors; and that their right was acknowledged by a decree proposed by your own citizen Calippus, of the Pænean tribe. He did indeed propose such a decree, for which he was by me impeached of an illegal proceeding; but you suffered him to escape, and thus was your title to these lands rendered disputable and precarious. But if you can submit to a judicial decision of your disputes with the Cardians, what should prevent the other inhabitants of the Chersonesus from demanding the like trial?

With such insolence doth he treat you, that he presumes to say, that if the Cardians refuse to be determined by a judicial process, he will compel them; as if we were not able to compel even the Cardians to do us justice. An extraordinary instance this of his regard to Athens!

Yet there are men among you who declare that

this letter is very reasonable—men much more deserving of your abhorrence than Philip. His opposition to this State is actuated by the love of glory and power; but citizens of Athens who devote themselves, not to their country, but to Philip, should feel that vengeance which it must be your part to inflict with all severity, unless your brains have forsaken your heads and descended to your heels. It remains that I propose such an answer to this so reasonable letter, and to the declarations of the ambassadors, as may be just and advantageous to the State.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

DEMOSTHENES

Demosthenes, of the deme of Pæania, in the tribe Pandionis, was born probably in 383 B.C. Having lost his father, Demosthenes, a citizen of rank and opulence, at the early age of seven, he was defrauded by his guardians of the greater part of his paternal inheritance. At sixteen his ambition was inflamed by hearing a trial in which Callistratus, a celebrated orator, won an important case. He forthwith determined to devote himself to the study of eloquence, and chose Isæus as his preceptor. At the age of seventeen he appeared before the public tribunals, arguing his own cause against his faithless guardians. In this he came off triumphant. But when he made his first attempt to speak before the assembly he was ridiculed and interrupted by the clamor of his audience. His stammering voice, his want of breath, his ungraceful gestures, and his confused sentences brought upon him general derision. Some among his auditors, however, perceived in his speech the marks of genius and rightly attributed his failure to timidity and imperfect enunciation. Encouraged by these, Demosthenes shortly afterward withdrew from public life and devoted himself with untiring perseverance to remedy his defects, which were chiefly a weak voice, imperfect articulation, and ungraceful gesture. He received valuable instruction from Satyrus, the actor. He studied carefully the best models, and is said to have copied the history of Thucydides no fewer than eight times. He is also said to have shut himself up in a subterranean chamber to practise declamation and composition, and various other stories are told of his assiduous perseverance. At last his efforts were crowned with success, and he became the greatest of Grecian orators.

It is chiefly in connection with the career of Philip of Macedon that we are to view Demosthenes as statesman and orator. He penetrated the sinister designs of that ambitious

monarch from the very outset, and he resolved to counteract them. His whole political career may in fact be summed up as an unceasing contest against Philip. For fourteen years he kept up the unequal conflict, and met the enemy of Athens and Greece at every point—a period which constitutes the brightest chapter in the history of Demosthenes. At length the crisis came. In the year 338 B.C. the battle of Chæronea was fought by the Athenian and Theban forces against the forces of Macedon. The Macedonians were victorious, and Grecian liberty, and with it Grecian eloquence, received its death-blow. But though defeated, the Athenians were not forgetful of the services of their greatest statesman. Athens decreed him a crown of gold. The reward was opposed by Æschines. The famous prosecution was commenced about 336 B.C., but the trial was delayed eight years. At length it came on. Spectators gathered from all parts of Greece to hear the greatest combat of eloquence that the world has ever witnessed. The harangue of Æschines was powerful and sarcastic. But Demosthenes was irresistible, and bore his enemy down. Æschines did not receive a fifth part of the votes of the judges and was compelled to retire into exile. Demosthenes' victory was short-lived. Soon after, accused of having received a bribe from Harpalus, the fugitive Macedonian treasurer, he was convicted and fled to Ægina. In 323 B.C., after the death of Alexander, he was recalled from banishment, and his entry into Athens was marked by the most joyous demonstrations. Later the Macedonian party became again triumphant, and the death of the orator was decreed by Antipater. He fled to the island of Celauria, and being still pursued by his enemies, there terminated his life by poison, in the temple of Poseidon, at the age of about sixty years, in 322 B.C.

Sixty-one speeches have come down to us ascribed to Demosthenes, of which about one half are spurious. The genuine speeches may be divided into two classes:

(1) Deliberative discourses, treating of political topics and delivered either before the Senate or the assembly of the people.

(2) Judicial speeches, having for their subject accusation or defence.

Of the first class, the most important are:

1. On the Navy Boards, the first political harangue of which we have a record. The question under immediate discussion was war with Persia, with which Demosthenes connects a measure for the reform of the navy, whence the speech derives its title.
2. The First Philippic. Here Demosthenes exhorts his fellow-citizens to be watchful of the encroachments of Philip, and to prosecute the war against him with the greatest vigor.
3. The Three Olynthiac Orations. The object in view in these speeches is to stimulate the Athenians to succor Olynthus, and prevent its falling into the hands of Philip.
4. The Second Philippic, pronounced after Demosthenes had returned from the Peloponnesus, where he had negotiated peace between Sparta and Messenia. Demosthenes here exhibits the true relation of Philip to Athens and to Greece.
5. On the Chersonese, in which Demosthenes insists upon the importance of keeping a firm grasp on the Chersonese,—perhaps the most perfect of all the deliberative harangues of Demosthenes.
6. The Third Philippic, usually regarded as the greatest of the popular speeches of Demosthenes. Apprehensive of the progress which Philip had made in Thrace, Demosthenes proposes that Athens should arm herself and head an Hellenic league.

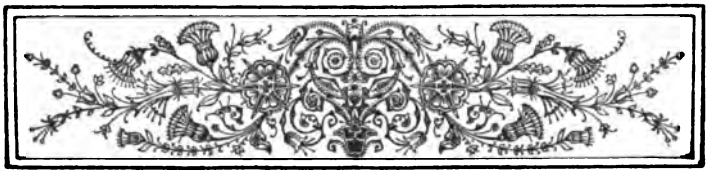
Of the second class—the judicial or forensic speeches—we must distinguish between those which refer to affairs connected with the State and those which relate to individual interests. Of the first species the most important is the oration On the Crown.

The second species of this class constitutes what are known as the Private Orations of Demosthenes. Of these there are thirty in the Canon, of which fifteen are probably genuine.

For the life of Demosthenes the reader is referred to Schafer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (2d ed., Berlin, 1882); and for an exhaustive literary criticism to Blass' *Attische Beredsamkeit* (2d ed., 1893). Butcher's *Demosthenes* in the Classical Writers Series (1882) is the best popular account of the orator and his works. The standard text is that of Dindorf revised by Blass (Teubner, 1887–89).

Good annotated editions of the various orations, which are here presented in translation, are as follows: On the Crown, Drake, London, 1866, containing also the oration of Æschines, Blass, Leipzig, 1890; of the Olynthiacs and Philippics, Abbott and Matheson, Oxford, 1892.

The best English translation of the whole of Demosthenes is that of Kennedy in five volumes (London, 1852–63); the best translation of the Orations on Occasions of Public Deliberation, including kindred orations of Æschines, Hegesippus, and Deinarchus, is that of Thomas Leland, D.D., which is adopted in this volume; excellent translations of the oration On the Crown are those of Lord Brougham and of Simpson.



ON THE NAVY BOARDS

Demosthenes.

This speech is of importance as the first political harangue of Demosthenes of which we have any record, and in consequence it is the beginning of the extant literature of Attic Political Oratory. It was delivered by Demosthenes in the assembly at the age of thirty. The question under immediate discussion was a rumored invasion of Greece by the King of Persia. Demosthenes connects with it a measure for the reform of the navy, which gives the title to the oration. In it we mark the beginnings of Demosthenes' foreign policy. His long study of Thucydides has left its manifest mark on his style.

THE men who thus dwell on the praises of your ancestors seem to me, ye men of Athens, to have chosen a subject fitted rather to gratify the assembly than to do the due honor to those on whom they lavish their applause. As they attempt to speak of actions which no words can worthily describe, the illustrious subject adorns their speech and gives them the praise of eloquence; while their hearers are made to think of the virtues of those heroes with much less elevation than these virtues of themselves inspire. To me, time itself seems to be the noblest witness to their glory. A series of so many years hath now passed over, and still no men have yet appeared whose actions could surpass those patterns of perfection. It shall be

my part, therefore, solely to endeavor to point out the means which may enable you most effectually to prepare for war; for, in fact, were all our speakers to proceed in a pompous display of their abilities, such parade and ostentation could not possibly prove of the least advantage to the public; but if any man whatever will appear, and can explain to your full satisfaction what kind of armament, how great, and how supported, may serve the present exigencies of the State, then all these alarms must instantly be dispelled. This I shall endeavor to the utmost of my abilities, having first briefly declared my opinion of our situation with respect to the King.

I do regard the King as the common enemy of all the Greeks; but I cannot for that reason advise that we should be the only people to undertake a war against him; for I do not find the Greeks themselves united to each other in sincere affection: nay, some among them seem to have more confidence in him than in certain of their own body. In such circumstances I account it of the utmost moment that we should be strictly attentive to the origin of this war, that it may be free from every imputation of injustice. Let our armament be carried on with vigor; but let us carefully adhere to the principles of equity; for, in my opinion, Athenians, the States of Greece (if it be once evident and incontestable that the King makes

Monument of Lysicrates or Lantern of Demosthenes.

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attempts against them) will instantly unite and express the most ardent gratitude to those who arose before them, who, with them, still stand faithfully and bravely to repel these attempts. But while this is yet uncertain, should you begin hostilities, I fear we may be obliged to fight against an enemy reinforced by those very men for whose interest we were so forward to express our zeal. Yes! he will suspend his designs (if he hath really designs against the Greeks): his gold will be dispersed liberally among them; his promises of friendship will be lavished on them; while they, distressed in their private wars, and attentive only to support them, will disregard the general welfare of the nation.

Into such confusion, into such weak measures let us not precipitate the State. With respect to the King, you cannot pursue the same counsels with some others of the Greeks. Of these many might, without the charge of inconsistency, neglect the rest of Greece, while engaged in the pursuit of private interest; but of you it would be unworthy, even though directly injured, to inflict so severe a punishment on the guilty as to abandon them to the power of the barbarian.

Thus are we circumstanced; and let us then be careful that we do not engage in this war upon unequal terms; that he whom we suppose to entertain designs against the Greeks may not recommend

himself to their confidence so as to be deemed their friend. And how shall these things be effected? By giving public proof that the forces of this State are well appointed, and complete for action; but that in this our procedure we are determined to adhere inviolably to justice.

Let the bold and hazardous, who are vehement in urging you to war, attend to this. It is not difficult, when an assembly is convened, to acquire the reputation of courage: no; nor when dangers are actually impending to speak with an impassioned boldness; but it is truly difficult, and it is our duty in the time of danger, to support the character of superior bravery; in our councils, to display the same superiority of wisdom.

I, on my part, ye men of Athens, think that a war with the King may prove dangerous; in a battle, the consequence of such a war, I see no danger. And why? Because wars of every kind require many advantages of naval force, of money, and of places. Here he is superior to the State. In a battle, nothing is so necessary to ensure success as valiant troops; and of these we and our confederates can boast the greater number. For this reason I earnestly recommend to you by no means to be the first to enter on a war; but for an engagement I think you should be effectually prepared. Were there one method of preparing to oppose barbarians, and another for engaging with Greeks,

then we might expect with reason that any hostile intentions against the Persian must be at once discovered; but as in every armament the manner is the same, the general provisions equally the same, whether our enemies are to be attacked, or our allies to be protected and our rights defended; why, when we have avowed enemies, should we seek for others? Shall we not prepare against the one, and be ready to oppose the other, should he attempt to injure us? Call now on the Greeks to unite with you. But suppose you should not readily concur with them in all their measures (as some are by no means favorably inclined to this State), can it be imagined that they will obey your summons? "Certainly; for we shall convince them that the King forms designs against their interests which they do not foresee." Ye powers! is it possible that you can be thus persuaded? Yes; I know you are: but whatever apprehensions you may raise, they must influence these Greeks less forcibly than their disputes with you and with each other; and therefore the remonstrances of your ambassadors will but appear like the tales of idle wanderers. If, on the other hand, you pursue the measures now proposed, there is not a single State of Greece that will hesitate a moment to come in and to solicit your alliance when they see our thousand horse, our infantry as numerous as could be wished, our three hundred ships; an armament

which they must regard as their surest refuge and defence. Should you apply for their assistance, you must appear as supplicants; should they refuse it, you incur the shame of a repulse; but if, while your forces are completed, you suspend your operations, the protection you then grant to them must appear as the consequence of their request; and be assured they will all fly to you for this protection.

With these and the like reflections deeply impressed on my mind, I have not labored to prepare a bold, vain, tedious harangue. No, my fellow-citizens! our preparations have been the sole object of my thoughts, and the manner of conducting them with effect and expedition. Grant me your attention, and if my sentiments be approved, confirm them by your voices.

It is, then, the first and most important part of preparation to possess your minds with due resolution, so that every citizen when called to action may exert himself with alacrity and zeal. You know that in every instance where, having first resolved on your designs in concert, every single member deemed it incumbent on him to labor vigorously in the execution, you have never once proved unsuccessful; but whenever we have first decreed, and then each man hath turned his eyes on others, fondly imagining that he himself need not act, that his neighbor would do all, our designs have never once been executed.

With these sentiments, and these vigorous resolutions, I recommend that you should proceed to the appointment of your twelve hundred, and raise them to two thousand, by a further addition of eight hundred. Thus, when all necessary deductions are made of those who by their condition are excused from contributing, or by any circumstances are unable to contribute, still the original number of twelve hundred will remain complete. These I would have formed into twenty classes, each consisting of sixty citizens agreeably to the present constitution. And it is my opinion, that of these classes each should be divided into five parts, consisting of twelve persons, ever attending to a just and equal distribution of the richer with the poorer. Thus should our citizens be arranged: the reason will appear when the whole scheme of the regulation hath been explained.

But our ships; how are they to be appointed? Let their whole number be fixed at three hundred, divided by fifteenth parts into twenty portions. Of the first hundred let five such parts; of the second hundred, five parts; and of the third hundred, five be appointed to each class. Thus shall a fifteenth of the whole be allotted to every class: three ships to each subdivision.

When these establishments are made, I propose, as the revenue arising from our lands amounts to six thousand talents, that in order to have our

funds duly regulated, this sum may be divided into a hundred parts of sixty talents each ; that five of these parts may be assigned to each of the twenty great classes ; which may thus give severally to each of their divisions a single part of sixty talents. So that, if we should have occasion for a hundred ships, sixty talents may be granted to each, and twelve trierarchs ; if for two hundred, there may be thirty talents assigned, and six trierarchs to each ; if for three hundred, twenty talents may be supplied for each, and four trierarchs.

In like manner, my fellow-citizens, on a due estimate of the stores necessary for our ships, I propose that, agreeably to the present scheme, they should be divided into twenty parts ; that one good and effectual part should be assigned to each of the great classes, to be distributed among the small divisions in the just proportions. Let the twelve, in every such division, demand their respective shares ; and let them have those ships which it is their lot to provide thoroughly and expeditiously equipped. Thus may our supplies, our ships, our trierarchs, our stores, be best provided and supplied. And now I am to lay before you a plain and easy method of completing this scheme.

I say, then, that your generals should proceed to mark out ten dock-yards, as contiguous as may be to each other, and capable of containing thirty vessels each. When this is done, they should

assign two classes and thirty ships to each of these docks. Among these also they should divide the tribes and the respective trierarchs; so that two classes, thirty ships, and one tribe may be assigned to each. Let then each tribe divide its allotted station into three parts, and the ships in like manner. Let these third parts be distributed by lot. Thus shall one tribe preside over one entire division of your shipping, and each third of a tribe take care of one third of such division; and thus shall you know at all times, first, where each tribe is stationed; then, where each third; then, who are the trierarchs; and, lastly, the number of your ships. Let affairs be once set in motion after this manner; and if anything hath been omitted (as it is by no means easy to provide accurately for every circumstance), the execution will itself discover it; and thus may your whole marine and all its several parts be uniformly and exactly regulated.

And now, as to money, as to any immediate supplies; sensible as I am that the opinion I am now to declare must appear extraordinary, yet I will declare it; for I trust, that when duly weighed it will be found the only one which reason can recommend, and which must be approved by the event. I say, then, that at this time we should not speak at all of money: we have a fund, if occasions call for it—a great and honorable, and an

equitable fund. Should you attempt to raise it now, far from succeeding in such an attempt, you could not depend on gaining it when really wanted; but suspend your inquiries, and you will secure it. What fund is this which now hath no being, yet will be found hereafter? This appears a kind of mystery, but I shall explain it. Cast your eyes round through all this city. Within these walls, Athenians, there are treasures—I had almost said, equal to those of all other States. But such is the disposition of their possessors, that if all our speakers were to rise with the most alarming declarations, "that the King was marching against us; that he was at our gates; that the danger did not admit of any possibility of doubt;"—if with these speakers as many ministers of heaven were to rise, and pronounce the same declarations as the warning of the gods, so far would these men be from contributing, that they would not even discover their riches; they would not acknowledge the possession of them. But should it once appear that all those dangers denounced with so much terror were really and in fact impending, where is the wretch that would not give freely, that would not urge to be admitted to contribute? For who would choose to abandon his life and fortune to the fury of an enemy rather than give up a small portion of his abundance for the safety of himself and all the rest of his possessions? Thus shall we

find treasures when occasions really demand them, but not till then. Let us not, therefore, inquire for them now. Suppose that we were now strictly to exact the subsidies from all our citizens, the utmost we should raise would be more contemptible than none. Imagine the experiment made: it is proposed to exact a hundredth part of the revenue arising from our lands. Well, then, this makes just sixty talents. "Nay, but we will raise a fiftieth part." This doubles the sum; we have then one hundred and twenty talents. But what is this to those hundreds or those thousands of camels which, they assure us, are employed to carry the King's money? But suppose it were agreed to raise a twelfth part, amounting to five hundred talents. This, in the first place, would be too great a burden, and, if imposed, still the fund produced would be insufficient for the war. Let, then, all our other preparations be completed; but as to money, let the possessors keep it, and never can they keep it for a nobler public service. When their country calls for it, then shall they freely and zealously contribute.

This, my fellow-citizens, is a practical scheme—a scheme highly honorable and advantageous, worthy of this, to be reported to the King, and which must strike him with no small terror. He knows, that by three hundred vessels, of which one hundred only were supplied by us, his ancestors lost a thousand ships. He will hear that now

we have ourselves equipped three hundred. He cannot then—if he hath not lost all reason—he cannot deem it a trivial matter to make this State his enemy. If from a dependence on his treasures he is tempted to entertain proud thoughts, he will find this but a vain dependence when compared with your resources. They tell us he is coming with heaps of gold, but when these are once dispersed he must look for new supplies. Not the richest streams, not the deepest sources but must at length be totally exhausted when we copiously and constantly drain away their waters. But we, he will be told, have a perpetual resource in our lands—a fund of six thousand talents. And with what spirit we defend these lands against invaders, his ancestors who fought at Marathon could best inform him. Let us continue to conquer, and our treasures cannot ever fail.

Nor yet do I think their terrors justly founded who apprehend that he may employ his gold in raising a large army of mercenaries. I do indeed believe that in an expedition against Egypt, against Orontes, or any of the other barbarians, there are many of the Greeks that would gladly receive his pay, not from any zeal for aggrandizing him, but each in order to obtain such a supply as might relieve their present necessities. But I never can persuade myself that any one Greek would assist him to conquer Greece. Whither should he turn

after such an event? Would he go and be a slave in Phrygia? He must know that when we take up arms against the barbarian, we take them up for our country, for our lives, for our customs, for our liberty, and all such sacred rights. Who, then, could be so base as to sacrifice himself, his parents, the sepulchres of his ancestors, his country to a trifling pittance? Surely, no man.

Nor is it the interest of the Persian that his mercenaries should subdue the Greeks; for they who can conquer us must first prove superior to him. And it is by no means his scheme, by destroying us, to lose his own empire. His wishes are to command all; if this cannot be obtained, at least he would secure his power over his own slaves.

If, then, it be imagined that the Thebans will unite with him, it is a hard part to speak of Thebes in this assembly; for such is your aversion to this people, that you will not hear the voice of truth itself if it seems at all to favor them. However, it is the duty of those who debate on great affairs by no means, and on no pretence whatever, to suppress any argument which may prove of use. I say, then, that so far are the Thebans from ever at any time uniting with the King against the Greeks, that they would freely give the greatest treasures, were they possessed of them, to purchase a fair occasion of atoning for their ancient errors with

respect to Greece. But let the Thebans be ever so unhappily disposed, still we must all be sensible, that if they unite with him, their enemies must necessarily unite with the Greeks. And I trust that the cause of justice, and the friends to this cause will ever prove superior to traitors and to all the force of the barbarian. Let us not, then, yield to these extravagant alarms, nor rashly brave all consequences by being first to take up arms.

Nor do I think that any other of the Grecian States should look on this war with terror. Is there a man among them who is not sensible, that while they regarded the Persian as their common enemy, and maintained a firm union with each other, their fortune was completely happy; but when, by a fatal reliance on his friendship, they were betrayed into contests and dissensions among themselves, their calamities were so great as to exceed all the imprecations which the most inveterate malice could invent? And shall that man, whom fortune, whom Heaven itself pronounces as a friend unprofitable, as an enemy of advantage—shall he, I say, be feared? By no means. Yet let us have the due regard to ourselves; let us have the due attention to the disorders and suspicions of the rest of Greece; and let us not incur the charge of injustice. Could we, indeed, with all the Greeks united firmly on our side, attack him single and unsupported, I would not then suppose that you

could be charged with injustice. But, as this is not to be expected, let us be cautious; let us afford him no pretence of appearing to assert the rights of the other Greeks. If we continue quiet, his applications to them will be suspicious; if we are the first to take up arms, he will seem justified by our hostilities in his attempts to gain their friendship.

Do not, then, discover to the world the melancholy state of Greece, by inviting those to an alliance whom you cannot gain, and by engaging in a war which you cannot support. Be quiet, be resolute; be prepared. Let not the emissaries of Persia report to their King that Greece and Athens are distracted in their councils, are confounded by their fears, are torn by dissensions. No; let them rather tell him, that if it were not equally shameful for the Greeks to violate their honor and their oaths as it is to him matter of triumph, they would have long since marched against him, and that if you now do not march you are restrained solely by a regard to your own dignity; that it is your prayer to all the gods that he may be seized with the infatuation which once possessed his ancestors, and then he would find no defect of vigor in your measures. He knows that by our wars with his ancestors, this State became happy and powerful; that by our peaceful demeanor before these wars we acquired a superiority

over the other Grecian States never more observable than at present. He knows that the affairs of Greece require some power to be either voluntarily or accidentally the instrument of a general peace. He knows that he himself must prove that instrument if he once attempts to raise a war; and, therefore, these informations will have their due weight and credit.

That I may not longer abuse your patience, I shall repeat the sum of my advice, and then descend.

You should prepare your force against your present enemies; you should use this force against the King, against any power that may attempt to injure you; but never be the first to break through the bounds of justice either in council or in action. You should be solicitous, not that our speeches, but that our conduct may be worthy of our illustrious descent. Act thus, and you will serve, not yourselves only, but the men who oppose these measures; for they will not feel your resentment hereafter if they be not suffered to mislead you now.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

THE FIRST PHILIPPIC

[Selection.] *Demosthenes.*

This and the following speeches were designed to wake the Athenians to the danger with which Philip's growing power threatened them, and to arouse them to a sense of the necessity of active measures to meet the danger. In the First Philippic (357 B.C.) Demosthenes urges that a force should be sent to the coasts of Thrace and that the Athenians should serve in person.

HAD we been convened, Athenians, on some new subject of debate, I had waited until most of the usual persons had declared their opinions. If I had approved of anything proposed by them, I should have continued silent; if not, I had then attempted to speak my sentiments. But since those very points on which these speakers have oftentimes been heard already are, at this time, to be considered, though I have risen first, I presume I may expect your pardon; for if they on former occasions had advised the necessary measures, ye would not have found it needful to consult at present.

First, then, Athenians, these our affairs must not be thought desperate: no, though their situation seems entirely deplorable; for the most shocking

circumstance of all our past conduct is really the most favorable to our future expectations. And what is this? That our own total indolence hath been the cause of all our present difficulties: for were we thus distressed, in spite of every vigorous effort which the honor of our State demanded, there were then no hope of a recovery.

In the next place, reflect—you who have been informed by others, and you who can yourselves remember—how great a power the Lacedæmonians not long since possessed; and with what resolution, with what dignity you disdained to act unworthy of the State, but maintained the war against them for the rights of Greece. Why do I mention these things? That ye may know, that ye may see, Athenians, that if duly vigilant ye cannot have anything to fear; that if once remiss, not anything can happen agreeably to your desires: witness the then powerful arms of Lacedæmon, which a just attention to your interests enabled you to vanquish; and this man's late insolent attempt, which our insensibility to all our great concerns hath made the cause of this confusion.

If there be a man in this assembly who thinks that we must find a formidable enemy in Philip, while he views, on one hand, the numerous armies which attend him, and, on the other, the weakness of the State thus despoiled of its dominions—

he thinks justly. Yet let him reflect on this: there was a time, Athenians, when we possessed Pydna, and Potidæa, and Methone, and all that country round; when many of those States now subjected to him were free and independent, and more inclined to our alliance than to his. Had then Philip reasoned in the same manner, "How shall I dare to attack the Athenians, whose garrisons command my territory, while I am destitute of all assistance?" he would not have engaged in those enterprises which are now crowned with success; nor could he have raised himself to this pitch of greatness. No, Athenians, he knew this well, that all these places are but prizes, laid between the combatants, and ready for the conqueror: that the dominions of the absent devolve naturally to those who are in the field; the possessions of the supine to the active and intrepid. Animated by these sentiments, he overturns whole countries; he holds all people in subjection: some, as by the right of conquest; others, under the titles of allies and confederates; for all are willing to confederate with those whom they see prepared and resolved to exert themselves as they ought.

And if you, my countrymen, will now at length be persuaded to entertain the like sentiments; if each of you, renouncing all evasions, will be ready to approve himself a useful citizen, to the utmost that his station and abilities demand; if the rich

will be ready to contribute, and the young to take the field; in one word, if you will be yourselves, and banish those vain hopes which every single person entertains, that while so many others are engaged in public business, his service will not be required; you then (if Heaven so pleases) shall regain your dominions, recall those opportunities your supineness hath neglected, and chastise the insolence of this man; for you are not to imagine that, like a god, he is to enjoy his present greatness forever fixed and unchangeable. No, Athenians, there are [those] who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among those seemingly the most attached to his cause. These are passions common to mankind; nor must we think that his friends only are exempted from them. It is true they lie concealed at present, as our indolence deprives them of all resource. But let us shake off this indolence; for you see how we are situated; you see the outrageous arrogance of this man, who does not leave it to your choice whether you shall act or remain quiet; but braves you with his menaces; and talks, as we are informed, in a strain of the highest extravagance; and is not able to rest satisfied with his present acquisitions, but is even in pursuit of further conquests; and while we sit down, inactive and irresolute, encloses us on all sides with his toils.

When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will

you exert your vigor? When roused by some event? when forced by some necessity? What then are we to think of our present condition? To freemen, the disgrace attending on misconduct is, in my opinion, the most urgent necessity. Or say, is it your sole ambition to wander through the public places, each inquiring of the other, "What new advices?" Can anything be more new than that a man of Macedon should conquer the Athenians and give law to Greece? "Is Philip dead?" "No, but in great danger." How are you concerned in those rumors? Suppose he should meet some fatal stroke; you would soon raise up another Philip, if your interests are thus regarded; for it is not to his own strength that he so much owes his elevation as to our supineness. And should some accident affect him, should Fortune, who hath ever been more careful of the State than we ourselves, now repeat her favors (and may she thus crown them!); be assured of this, that by being on the spot, ready to take advantage of the confusion, you will everywhere be absolute masters; but in your present disposition, even if a favorable juncture should present you with Amphipolis, you could not take possession of it while this suspense prevails in your designs and in your councils.

And now, as to the necessity of a general vigor and alacrity; of this you must be fully persuaded; this point, therefore, I shall urge no further. But

the nature of the armament which, I think, will extricate you from the present difficulties, the numbers to be raised, the subsidies required for their support, and all the other necessaries; how they may (in my opinion) be best and most expeditiously provided; these things I shall endeavor to explain. But here I make this request, Athenians — that you would not be precipitate, but suspend your judgment till you have heard me fully. And if, at first, I seem to propose a new kind of armament, let it not be thought that I am delaying your affairs; for it is not they who cry out, "Instantly!" "This moment!" whose counsels suit the present juncture (as it is not possible to repel violences already committed by any occasional detachment); but he who will show you of what kind that armament must be, how great, and how supported, which may subsist until we yield to peace, or until our enemies sink beneath our arms; for thus only can we be secured from future dangers. These things, I think, I can point out; not that I would prevent any other person from declaring his opinion. Thus far am I engaged; how I can acquit myself will immediately appear; to your judgments I appeal.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

FIRST OLYNTHIAC ORATION

[Selection.] *Demosthenes.*

The three orations for Olynthus (349–348 B.C.) plead the cause of the great city which, with its confederacy of thirty-two towns, Philip destroyed in 348 B.C. In 349 B.C. Philip entered Chalcidice, and besieged some of the confederate towns. Olynthus sent an embassy to Athens proposing alliance and beseeching help. On this occasion the First Olynthiac was spoken. Demosthenes demanded prompt action and the simultaneous sending of two citizen forces, one to defend Olynthus, the other to harass Macedon.

IF there be any one among you who, from Philip's good fortune, concludes that he must prove a formidable enemy, such reasoning is not unworthy a man of prudence. Fortune hath great influence, nay, the whole influence, in all human affairs; but then, were I to choose, I should prefer the fortune of Athens (if you yourselves will assert your own cause with the least degree of vigor) to this man's fortune, for we have many better reasons to depend on the favor of heaven than this man. But our present state is, in my opinion, a state of total inactivity; and he who will not exert his own strength cannot apply for aid either to his friends or to the gods. It is not then surprising that he who is himself even amid the dangers and labors of the field, who is everywhere, whom no opportunity

escapes, to whom no season is unfavorable, should be superior to you who are wholly engaged in contriving delays, and framing decrees, and inquiring after news. I am not surprised at this; for the contrary must have been surprising, if we, who never act in any single instance as becomes a State engaged in war, should conquer him who in every instance acts with an indefatigable vigilance. This, indeed, surprises me—that you who fought the cause of Greece against Lacedæmon, and generously declined all the many favorable opportunities of aggrandizing yourselves; who, to secure their property to others, parted with your own by contributions, and bravely exposed yourselves in battle, should now decline the service of the field and delay the necessary supplies when called to the defence of your own rights; that you, in whom Greece in general and each particular State hath often found protection, should sit down quiet spectators of your own private wrongs. This, I say, surprises me; and one thing more, that not a man among you can reflect how long a time we have been at war with Philip, and in what measure this time hath all been wasted. You are not to be informed that, in delaying, in hoping that others would assert your cause, in accusing each other, in impeaching, then again entertaining hopes, in such measures as are now pursued, that time hath been entirely wasted. And are you so devoid of apprehension as to imagine, when our State hath been

reduced from greatness to wretchedness, that the very same conduct will raise us from wretchedness to greatness? No; this is not reasonable; it is not natural, for it is much easier to defend than to acquire dominions. But now the war hath left us nothing to defend, we must acquire. And to this work you yourselves alone are equal.

This, then, is my opinion: you should raise supplies, you should take the field with alacrity. Prosecutions should be all suspended until you have recovered your affairs; let each man's sentence be determined by his actions; honor those who have deserved applause; let the iniquitous meet their punishment; let there be no pretences, no deficiencies on your part, for you cannot bring the actions of others to a severe scrutiny unless you have first been careful of your own duty. What, indeed, can be the reason, think ye, that every man whom ye have sent out at the head of an army hath deserted your service, and sought out some private expedition, if we must speak ingenuously of these our generals also? The reason is this: when engaged in the service of the State, the prize for which they fight is yours. Thus, should Amphipolis be taken now, you instantly possess yourselves of it; the commanders have all the dangers, the rewards they do not share. But in their private enterprises the dangers are less; the acquisitions are all shared by the generals and soldiers, as were Lampsacus, Sigæum, and

those vessels which they plundered. Thus are they all determined by their private interest. And when you turn your eyes to the wretched state of your affairs, you bring your generals to a trial, you grant them leave to speak, you hear the necessities they plead, and then acquit them. Nothing then remains for us but to be distracted with endless contests and divisions (some urging these, some those measures), and to feel the public calamity; for in former times, Athenians, you divided into classes to raise supplies. Now the business of these classes is to govern; each hath an orator at its head, and a general who is his creature. The Three Hundred are assistants to these, and the rest of you divide, some to this, some to that party. You must rectify these disorders; you must appear yourselves; you must leave the power of speaking, of advising, and of acting open to every citizen. But if you suffer some persons to issue out their mandates as with a royal authority,—if one set of men be forced to fit out ships, to raise supplies, to take up arms, while others are only to make decrees against them, without any charge, any employment besides, it is not possible that anything can be effected seasonably and successfully; for the injured party ever will desert you, and then your sole resource will be to make them feel your resentment instead of your enemies.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

SECOND OLYNTHIAC ORATION

[Selection.] *Demosthenes.*

Philip becoming more bold in his encroachments on Olynthus, the Olynthians again applied to the Athenians, and pressed for more effectual assistance than that previously granted them. In the following speech Demosthenes endeavors to support this petition, and to prove that both the honor and the interest of the Athenians demanded their compliance.

AND here let me entreat your attention to a summary account of the conduct of your ancestors and of your own. I shall mention but a few things, and these well known: for, if you would pursue the way to happiness, you need not look abroad for leaders; our own countrymen point it out. These, our ancestors, therefore, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence with which you are flattered, held the sovereignty of Greece, with general consent, five-and-forty years; deposited above ten thousand talents in our public treasury; kept the King of this country in that subjection which a barbarian owes to Greeks; erected monuments of many and illustrious actions which they themselves achieved by land and sea; in a word, are the only

persons who have transmitted to posterity such glory as is superior to envy. Thus great do they appear in the affairs of Greece. Let us now view them within the city, both in their public and private conduct. And, first, the edifices which their administrations have given us, their decorations of our temples, and the offerings deposited by them, are so numerous and so magnificent that all the efforts of posterity cannot exceed them. Then, in private life, so exemplary was their moderation, their adherence to the ancient manners so scrupulously exact, that, if any of you ever discovered the house of Aristides, or Miltiades, or any of the illustrious men of those times, he must know that it was not distinguished by the least extraordinary splendor, for they did not so conduct the public business as to aggrandize themselves; their sole great object was to exalt the State, and thus, by their faithful attachment to Greece, by their piety to the gods, and by that equality which they maintained among themselves, they were raised (and no wonder) to the summit of prosperity.

Such was the state of Athens at that time, when the men I have mentioned were in power. But what is your condition under these indulgent ministers who now direct us? Is it the same, or nearly the same? Other things I shall pass over, though I might expatiate on them. Let it only be observed, that we are now, as you all see, left without com-

petitors; the Lacedæmonians lost; the Thebans engaged at home; and not one of all the other States of consequence sufficient to dispute the sovereignty with us. Yet at a time when we might have enjoyed our own dominions in security, and been the umpires in all disputes abroad, our territories have been wrested from us; we have expended above one thousand five hundred talents to no purpose; the allies which we gained in war have been lost in time of peace; and to this degree of power have we raised an enemy against ourselves. (For let the man stand forth who can show whence Philip hath derived his greatness, if not from us.)

"Well! if these affairs have but an unfavorable aspect, yet those within the city are much more flourishing than ever." Where are the proofs of this? The walls which have been whitened? the ways we have repaired? the supplies of water? and such trifles. Turn your eyes to the men of whose administrations these are the fruits; some of whom, from the lowest state of poverty, have arisen suddenly to affluence; some from meanness to renown; others have made their own private houses much more magnificent than the public edifices. Just as the State hath fallen their private fortunes have been raised.

And what cause can we assign for this? How is it that our affairs were once so flourishing, and

now in such disorder? Because, formerly, the people dared take up arms themselves; were themselves masters of those in employment; disposers themselves of all emoluments; so that every citizen thought himself happy to derive honors and authority, and all advantages whatever, from the people. But now, on the contrary, favors are all dispensed, affairs all transacted by the ministers; while you, quite enervated, robbed of your riches, your allies, stand in the mean rank of servants and assistants; happy if these men grant you the theatrical appointments, and send you scraps of the public meal; and, what is of all most sordid, you hold yourselves obliged to them for that which is your own; while they confine you within these walls, lead you on gently to their purposes, and soothe and tame you to obedience. Nor is it possible, that they who are engaged in low and grovelling pursuits can entertain great and generous sentiments. No! Such as their employments are, so must their dispositions prove. And now I call Heaven to witness, that it will not surprise me if I suffer more by mentioning this your condition than they who have involved you in it! Freedom of speech you do not allow on all occasions; and that you have now admitted it excites my wonder.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

THE SECOND PHILIPPIC

[Selection.] *Demosthenes.*

To counteract the intrigues of Philip, Demosthenes undertook a mission of warning to the Peloponnesus. This mission was the origin, apparently, of a mission to Athens in 344 B.C., on which occasion Demosthenes spoke the Second Philippic. Demosthenes exhibits in this speech the true relation of Philip to Athens and to Greece.

"MESSENIANS!" said I, "how highly, think ye, would the Olynthians have been offended if any man had spoken against Philip at that time when he gave them up Anthemus, a city which the former kings of Macedon had ever claimed? when he drove out the Athenian colony and gave them Potidæ? when he took all our resentment on himself and left them to enjoy our dominions? Did they expect to have suffered thus? had it been foretold, would they have believed it? You cannot think it! Yet, after a short enjoyment of the territories of others, they have been forever despoiled of their own by this man. Inglorious has been their fall, not conquered only, but betrayed and sold by one another: for those intimate

correspondences with tyrants ever portend mischief to free States." "Turn your eyes," said I, "to the Thessalians! think ye, that when he first expelled their tyrants, when he then gave them up Nicæa and Magnesia, that they expected ever to have been subjected to those governors now imposed on them? or that the man who restored them to their seat in the Amphictyonic Council would have deprived them of their own proper revenues? yet, that such was the event, the world can testify. In like manner, you now behold Philip lavishing his gifts and promises on you. If you are wise, you will pray that he may never appear to have deceived and abused you. Various are the contrivances for the defence and security of cities; as battlements, and walls, and trenches, and every other kind of fortification; all which are the effects of labor, and attended with continual expense. But there is one common bulwark with which men of prudence are naturally provided, the guard and security of all people, particularly of free States, against the assaults of tyrants. What is this? Distrust. Of this be mindful: to this adhere: preserve this carefully, and no calamity can affect you." "What is it you seek?" said I. "Liberty? And do ye not perceive that nothing can be more averse to this than the very titles of Philip? Every monarch, every tyrant is an enemy to liberty, and the opposer of laws. Will ye not then be careful

lest, while ye seek to be freed from war, you find yourselves his slaves?"

But although they heard these things, and loudly expressed their approbation; though the like points were frequently urged by the ambassadors while I was present, and probably were afterward repeated; yet still they have no less dependence on the friendship and promises of Philip. But it is not strange that the Messenians and some of the Peloponnesians should act contrary to the dictates of nature, reason, and reflection. Even you, who are yourselves fully sensible, and constantly reminded by your public speakers that there are designs forming against you, that the toils of your enemies are surrounding you, will, I fear, be plunged by your supineness into all those dangers that threaten you; so prevalent is the pleasure and indulgence of a moment over all your future interests. But as to the course necessary to be pursued, prudence requires that this be debated hereafter among yourselves. At present, I shall propose such an answer to these ministers as may be worthy of your concurrence. . . .

It would be just, Athenians, to call the men before you who gave those promises which induced you to conclude the peace; for neither would I have undertaken the embassy, nor would you, I am convinced, have laid down your arms, had it been suspected that Philip would have acted thus

when he had obtained a peace. No; the assurances he then gave were quite different from his present actions. There are others also to be summoned. Who are these? The men who, at my return from the second embassy (sent for the ratification of the treaty), when I saw the State abused, and warned you of your danger, and testified the truth, and opposed with all my power the giving up of Thermopylæ and Phocis; the men, I say, who then cried out that I, the water-drinker, was morose and peevish; but that Philip, if permitted to pass, would act agreeably to your desires, would fortify Thespia and Platæa, restrain the insolence of Thebes, cut through the Chersonesus at his own expense, and give you up Eubœa and Oropus, as an equivalent for Amphipolis. That all this was positively affirmed you cannot, I am sure, forget, though not remarkable for remembering injuries. And, to complete the disgrace, you have engaged your posterity to the same treaty, in full dependence on those promises: so entirely have you been seduced.

And now, to what purpose do I mention this? and why do I desire that these men should appear? I call the gods to witness that, without the least evasion, I shall boldly declare the truth! Not that, by breaking out into invectives, I may expose myself to the like treatment, and once more give my old enemies an opportunity of receiving

Philip's gold; nor yet that I may indulge an impertinent vanity of haranguing; but I apprehend the time must come when Philip's actions will give you more concern than at present. His designs, I see, are ripening. I wish my apprehensions may not prove just: but I fear that time is not far off. And when it will no longer be in your power to disregard events; when neither mine nor any other person's information, but your own knowledge, your own senses will assure you of the impending danger, then will your severest resentment break forth. And as your ambassadors have concealed certain things (as they themselves are conscious), by corruption, I fear that they who endeavor to restore what these men have ruined may feel the weight of your displeasure; for there are some, I find, who generally point their anger, not at the deserving objects, but those most immediately at their mercy.

While our affairs, therefore, remain not absolutely desperate—while it is yet in our power to debate—give me leave to remind you all of one thing, though none can be ignorant of it. Who was the man that persuaded you to give up Phocis and Thermopylæ? which once gained, he also gained free access for his troops to Attica and to Peloponnesus, and obliged us to turn our thoughts from the rights of Greece, from all foreign interests, to a defensive war, in these very territories;

whose approach must be severely felt by every one of us: and that very day gave birth to it; for had we not been then deceived, the State could have nothing to apprehend. His naval power could not have been great enough to attempt Attica by sea; nor could he have passed by land through Thermopylæ and Phocis. But he must have either confined himself within the bounds of justice, and lived in a due observance of his treaty, or have instantly been involved in a war equal to that which obliged him to sue for peace.

Thus much may be sufficient to recall past actions to your view. May all the gods forbid that the event should confirm my suspicions! for I by no means desire that any man should meet even the deserved punishment of his crimes, when the whole community is in danger of being involved in his destruction.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

THE THIRD PHILIPPIC

Demosthenes.

This speech was delivered about three months after the Second Philippic, while Philip was advancing into Thrace and threatening both the Chersonese and the Propontine coast. No new event had happened which called for any special consultation; but Demosthenes, alarmed by the formidable character of Philip's enterprise and vast military preparations, felt the necessity of rousing the Athenians to exertion.

THOUGH we have heard a great deal, Athenians, in almost every assembly, of those acts of violence which Philip hath been committing ever since his treaty, not against ours only, but the other States of Greece; though all, I am confident, are ready to acknowledge, even they who fail in the performance, that we should, every one of us, exert our efforts, in council and in action, to oppose and to chastise his insolence; yet to such circumstances are you reduced by your supineness, that I fear (shocking as it is to say) that had we all agreed to propose, and you to embrace, such measures as would most effectually ruin our affairs, they could not have been more distressed than at present. And to this perhaps a variety of causes have conspired; nor could we have been

thus affected by one or two. But, on a strict and just inquiry, you will find it principally owing to those orators who study rather to gain your favor than to advance your interests; some of whom (attentive only to the means of establishing their own reputation and power) never extend their thoughts beyond the present moment, and therefore think that your views are equally confined. Others, by their accusations and invectives against those at the head of affairs, labor only to make the State inflict severity on itself; that, while we are thus engaged, Philip may have full power of speaking and of acting as he pleases. Such are now the usual methods of our statesmen; and hence all our errors and disorders.

Let me entreat you, my countrymen, that if I speak some truths with boldness, I may not be exposed to your resentment. Consider this: on other occasions, you account liberty of speech so general a privilege of all within your walls, that aliens and slaves are allowed to share it; so that many domestics may be found among you speaking their thoughts with less reserve than citizens in some other States. But from your councils you have utterly banished it. And the consequence is this: in your assemblies, as you listen only to be pleased, you meet with flattery and indulgence; in the circumstances of public affairs you find yourselves threatened with the extremity of danger.

if you have still the same dispositions I must be silent; if you will attend to your true interests, without expecting to be flattered, I am ready to speak. For although our affairs are wretchedly situated, though our inactivity hath occasioned many losses, yet by proper vigor and resolution you may still repair them all. What I am now going to advance may possibly appear incredible; yet it is a certain truth. The greatest of all our past misfortunes is a circumstance the most favorable to our future expectations. And what is this? That the present difficulties are really owing to our utter disregard of everything which in any degree affected our interests. For, were we thus situated in spite of every effort which our duty demanded, then we should regard our future as absolutely desperate. But now Philip hath conquered your supineness and inactivity; the State he hath not conquered. Nor have you been defeated; your force hath not even been exerted.

Were it generally acknowledged that Philip was at war with the State, and had really violated the peace, the only point to be considered would then be how to oppose him with the greatest ease and safety. But since there are persons so strangely infatuated that, although he be still extending his conquests, although he hath possessed himself of a considerable part of our dominions, although all mankind have suffered by his injustice,

they can yet hear it repeated in this assembly that it is some of us who are embroiling the State in war. This suggestion must first be guarded against; else there is reason to apprehend that the man who moves you to oppose your adversary may incur the censure of being the author of the war.

And, first of all, I lay down this as certain: if it were in our power to determine whether we should be at peace or war; if peace (that I may begin with this) were wholly dependent on the option of the State, there is no doubt but that we should embrace it. And I expect that he who asserts it will, without attempting to prevaricate, draw up his decree in form, and propose it to your acceptance. But if the other party hath drawn the sword, and gathered his armies round him; if he amuse us with the name of peace, while he really proceeds to all kinds of hostilities, what remains but to oppose him? To make professions of peace, indeed, like him—if this be agreeable to you—I acquiesce. But if any man takes that for peace which is enabling him, after all his other conquests, to lead his forces hither, his mind must be disordered; at least it is our conduct only towards him, not his towards us, that must be called a peace. But this is for which all Philip's treasures are expended; that he should carry on the war against you, but that you should make no war on him. Should we continue thus

inactive till he declares himself our enemy, we should be the weakest of mortals. This he would not do although he were in the heart of Attica, even at the Piræus, if we may judge from his behavior to others. For it was not till he came within a few miles of Olynthus that he declared that "either the Olynthians must quit their city, or he his kingdom." Had he been accused of this at any time before he would have resented it, and ambassadors must have been despatched to justify their master. In like manner, when he was moving towards the Phocians, he still affected to regard them as allies and friends; nay, there were actually ambassadors from Phocis who attended him in his march; and among us were many who insisted that this march portended no good to Thebes. Not long since when he went into Thessaly with all the appearance of amity, he possessed himself of Pheræ. And it is but now he told the wretched people of Oreum that he had, in all affection, sent some forces to inspect their affairs; for that he heard they labored under disorders and seditions; and that true friends and allies should not be absent on such occasions. And can you imagine that he, who chose to make use of artifice rather than open force against enemies by no means able to distress him, who, at most, could but have defended themselves against him—that he will openly proclaim his hostile designs against

you ; and this when you yourselves obstinately shut your eyes against them ? Impossible ! He would be the absurdest of mankind, if, while his outrages pass unnoticed, while you are wholly engaged in accusing some among yourselves, and endeavoring to bring them to a trial, he should put an end to your private contests, warn you to direct all your zeal against him, and so deprive his pensioners of their most specious pretence for suspending your resolutions ; that of his not being at war with the State. Heavens ! is there any man of a right mind who would judge of peace or war by words and not by actions ? Surely, no man. To examine then the actions of Philip. When the peace was just concluded, before ever Diopithes had received his commission, or those in the Chersonesus had been sent out, he possessed himself of Serrium and Doriscum, and obliged the forces our general had stationed in the citadel of Serrium and the Sacred Mount to evacuate these places. From these proceedings, what are we to judge of him ? The peace he had ratified by the most solemn oaths. And let it not be asked, of what moment is all this ? or how is the State affected by it ? Whether these things be of no moment, or whether we are affected by them or no, is a question of another nature. Let the instance of violation be great or small, the sacred obligation of faith and justice is, in all instances, the same.

But further: when he sends his forces into the Chersonesus, which the King, which every State of Greece acknowledged to be ours; when he confessedly assists our enemies, and braves us with such letters, what are his intentions? for they say he is not at war with us. For my own part, so far am I from acknowledging such conduct to be consistent with his treaty, that I declare, that by his attack on the Megareans, by his attempts on the liberty of Eubœa, by his late incursion into Thrace, by his practice in Peloponnesus, and by his constant recourse to the power of arms, in all his transactions he has violated the treaty, and is at war with you; unless you will affirm, that he who prepares to invest a city is still at peace until the walls be actually assaulted. You cannot, surely, affirm it! He whose designs, whose whole conduct tends to reduce me to subjection, that man is at war with me, though not a blow hath yet been given, not one weapon drawn. And if any accident should happen, to what dangers must you be exposed! The Hellespont will be no longer yours; your enemy will become master of Megara and Eubœa; the Peloponnesians will be gained over to his interests. And shall I say that the man who is thus raising his engines, and preparing to storm the city, is at peace with you? No; from that day in which Phocis fell beneath his arms I date his hostilities against you. If you

will instantly oppose him, I pronounce you wise; if you delay, it will not be in your power when you are inclined. And so far, Athenians, do I differ from some other speakers, that I think it now no time to debate about the Chersonesus or Byzantium; but that we should immediately send reinforcements, and guard these places from all accidents, supply the generals stationed there with everything they stand in need of, and extend our care to all the Greeks, now in the greatest and most imminent danger. Let me entreat your attention while I explain the reasons which induce me to be apprehensive of this danger; that, if they are just, you may adopt them, and be provident of your own interests at least, if those of others do not affect you; or, if they appear frivolous and impertinent, you may now, and ever hereafter, neglect me as a man of unsound mind.

That Philip, from a mean and inconsiderable origin, hath advanced to greatness; that suspicion and faction divide all the Greeks; that it is more to be admired that he should become so powerful from what he was, than that now, after such accessions of strength, he should accomplish all his ambitious schemes; these, and other like points which might be dwelt on, I choose to pass over. But there is one concession which, by the influence of your example, all men have made to him, which hath heretofore been the cause of all the

Grecian wars. And what is this? An absolute power to act as he pleases; thus to harass and plunder every State of Greece successively; to invade and to enslave their cities. You held the sovereignty of Greece seventy-three years; the Lacedæmonians commanded for the space of twenty-nine years; and in these latter times, after the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans were in some degree of eminence. Yet neither to you, nor to the Thebans, nor to the Lacedæmonians, did the Greeks ever grant this uncontrolled power; far from it. On the contrary, when you, or rather the Athenians of that age, seemed to treat some persons not with due moderation, it was universally resolved to take up arms; even they who had no private complaints espoused the cause of the injured. And when the Lacedæmonians succeeded to your power, the moment that they attempted to enlarge their sway, and to make such changes in affairs as betrayed their ambitious designs, they were opposed by all, even by those who were not immediately affected by their conduct. But why do I speak of others? We ourselves, and the Lacedæmonians, though from the first we could allege no injuries against each other, yet, to redress the injured, thought ourselves bound to draw the sword. And all the faults of the Lacedæmonians in their thirty years, and of our ancestors in their seventy years, do not amount

to the outrages which Philip hath committed against the Greeks within less than thirteen years of power; or rather, do not all make up the smallest part of them. This I shall easily prove in a few words.

Olynthus, and Methone, and Apollonia, and the two and thirty cities of Thrace, I pass all over; every one of which felt such severe effects of his cruelty, that an observer could not easily determine whether any of them had ever been inhabited or no. The destruction of the Phocians, a people so considerable, shall also pass unnoticed. But think on the condition of the Thessalians. Hath he not subverted their States and cities? Hath he not established his tetrarchs over them, that not only single towns, but whole countries might pay him vassalage? Are not the States of Eubœa in the hands of tyrants, and this in an island bordering on Thebes and Athens? Are not these the express words of his letters: "They who are willing to obey me may expect peace from me"? And he not only writes, but confirms his menaces by actions. He marches directly to the Hellespont: but just before he attacked Ambracia: Elis, one of the chief cities of Peloponnesus, is in his possession: not long since he entertained designs against Megara. All Greece, all the barbarian world, is too narrow for this man's ambition. And though we Greeks see and hear all this, we send

no embassies to each other, we express no resentment: but into such wretchedness are we sunk (blocked up within our several cities) that even to this day we have not been able to perform the least part of that which our interest or our duty demanded, to engage in any associations, or to form any confederacies; but look with unconcern on this man's growing power; each fondly imagining (so far as I can judge) that the time in which another is destroyed is gain to him, without ever consulting or acting for the cause of Greece; although no man can be ignorant that, like the regular periodic return of a fever, or other disorder, he is coming on those who think themselves most remote from danger.

You are also sensible that whatever injuries the Greeks suffered by the Lacedæmonians, or by us, they suffered by the true sons of Greece. And one may consider it in this light. Suppose a lawful heir, born to an affluence of fortune, should in some instances be guilty of misconduct: he, indeed, lies open to the justest censure and reproach; yet it cannot be said that he hath lavished a fortune to which he had no claim, no right of inheritance. But should a slave, should a pretended son waste those possessions which really belonged to others, how much more heinous would it be thought: how much more worthy of resentment! And shall not Philip and his actions raise the like

indignation? he who is not only no Greek, no way allied to Greece, but sprung from a part of the barbarian world unworthy to be named; a vile Macedonian; where formerly we could not find a slave fit to purchase. And hath his insolence known any bounds? Besides the destruction of cities, doth he not appoint the Pythian games, the common entertainment of Greece: and, if absent himself, send his slaves to preside? Is he not master of Thermopylæ? Are not the passes into Greece possessed by his guards and mercenaries? Hath he not assumed the honors of the temple, in opposition to our claim, to that of the Thessalians, that of the Dorians, and of the other Amphictyons; honors to which even the Greeks do not all pretend? Doth he not prescribe to the Thessalians how they shall be governed? Doth he not send out his forces, some to Porthmus, to expel the Eretrian colony; some to Oreum, to make Philistides tyrant? And yet the Greeks see all this without the least impatience. Just as at the fall of hail: every one prays it may not alight on his ground, but no one attempts to fend against it: so they not only suffer the general wrongs of Greece to pass unpunished, but carry their insensibility to the utmost, and are not roused even by their private wrongs. Hath he not attacked Ambracia and Leucas, cities of the Corinthians? Hath he not wrested Naupactus from the Achæans, and engaged,

by oath, to deliver it to the Ætolians? Hath he not robbed the Thebans of Echinus? Is he not on his march against the Byzantines? And are they not our allies? I shall only add, that Cardia, the chief city of the Chersonesus, is in his possession. Yet these things do not affect us: we are all languid and irresolute: we watch the motions of those about us, and regard each other with suspicious eyes; and this when we are all so manifestly injured. And if he behaves with such insolence towards the general body, to what extravagances, think ye, will he proceed when master of each particular State?

And now, what is the cause of all this? (for there must be some cause, some good reason to be assigned why the Greeks were once so jealous of their liberty, and are now so ready to submit to slavery). It is this, Athenians: formerly, men's minds were animated with that which they now feel no longer, which conquered all the opulence of Persia, maintained the freedom of Greece, and triumphed over the powers of sea and land; but, now that it is lost, universal ruin and confusion overspread the face of Greece. What is this? Nothing subtle or mysterious; nothing more than a unanimous abhorrence of all those who accepted bribes from princes, prompted by the ambition of subduing, or the bare intent of corrupting, Greece. To be guilty of such practices was accounted a

crime of the blackest kind; a crime which called for all the severity of public justice. No petitioning for mercy, no pardon was allowed. So that neither orator nor general could sell those favorable conjunctures with which fortune oftentimes assists the supine against the vigilant, and renders men utterly regardless of their interests superior to those who exert their utmost efforts; nor were mutual confidences among ourselves, distrust of tyrants and barbarians, and suchlike noble principles, subject to the power of gold. But now are all these exposed to sale, as in a public mart; and, in exchange, such things have been introduced as have affected the safety, the very vitals of Greece. What are these? Envy, when a man hath received a bribe; laughter, if he confesses it; pardon, if he be convicted; resentment, at his being accused; and all the other appendages of corruption. For, as to naval power, troops, revenues, and all kinds of preparations, everything that is esteemed the strength of a State, we are now much better and more amply provided than formerly; but they have lost all their force, all their efficacy, all their value, by means of such traffickers.

That such is our present state you yourselves are witnesses, and need not any testimony from me. That our state in former times was quite opposite to this I shall now convince you, not by any arguments of mine, but by a decree of your

ancestors, which they inscribed on a brazen column erected in the citadel; not with a view to their own advantage (they needed no such memorials to inspire them with just sentiments), but that it might descend to you as an example of the great attention due to such affairs. Hear, then, the inscription: "Let Arthmius of Zelia, the son of Pythonax, be accounted infamous, and an enemy to the Athenians and their allies, both he and all his race." Then comes the reason of his sentence: "Because he brought gold from Media into Peloponnesus"—not to Athens. This is the decree. And now, in the name of all the gods, reflect on this! think what wisdom, what dignity appeared in this action of our ancestors! One Arthmius of Zelia, a slave of the King's (for Zelia is a city of Asia), in obedience to his master, brings gold, not into Athens, but Peloponnesus. This man they declare an enemy to them and their confederates, and that he and his posterity shall be infamous. Nor was this merely a mark of ignominy; for how did it concern this Zelite whether he was to be received into the community of Athens or no? The sentence imported something more; for in the laws relating to capital cases, it is enacted that: "When the legal punishment of a man's crime cannot be inflicted, he may be put to death." And it was accounted meritorious to kill him. "Let not the infamous man," saith the law, "be permitted

to live." Intimating that he is free from guilt who executes this sentence.

Our fathers, therefore, thought themselves bound to extend their care to all Greece ; else they must have looked with unconcern at the introduction of bribery into Peloponnesus. But we find they proceeded to such severity against all they could detect in it as to raise monuments of their crimes. Hence it was (and no wonder) that the Greeks were a terror to the barbarians, not the barbarians to the Greeks. But now it is not so ; for you do not show the same spirit on such or on any other occasions. How then do you behave ? You need not be informed. Why should the whole censure fall on you ? the conduct of the rest of Greece is no less blamable. It is my opinion, therefore, that the present state of things demands the utmost care and most salutary counsel. What counsel ? Shall I propose it ? and will ye not be offended ? Read this memorial. [The memorial is read.]

And here I must take notice of one weak argument made use of to inspire us with confidence : that Philip is not yet so powerful as the Lacedæmonians once were, who commanded by sea and land, were strengthened by the alliance of the King, were absolute and uncontrolled ; and yet we made a brave stand against them ; nor was all their force able to crush our State. In answer to this, I shall

observe, that amid all the alterations and improvements which have happened in affairs of every kind, nothing hath been more improved than the art of war: for, in the first place, I am informed that at that time the Lacedæmonians and all the other Greeks used to keep the field four or five months, just the convenient season; and having so long continued their invasion, and infested the territories of their enemy with their heavy armed and domestic forces, they retired into their own country. Then, such was the simplicity, I should say the national spirit, of that age, that the power of gold was never called to their assistance; but all their wars were fair and open. Now, on the contrary, we see most defeats owing to treachery; no formal engagements, nothing left to the decision of arms. For you find the rapid progress of Philip is not owing to the force of regular troops, but to armies composed of light horse and foreign archers. With these he pours down on some people already engaged by civil discord and commotions; and when none will venture out in defence of their State, on account of their private suspicions, he brings up his engines, and attacks their walls; not to mention his absolute indifference to heat and cold, and that there is no peculiar season which he gives to pleasure. Let these things sink deep into all our minds: let us not suffer his arms to approach these territories: let us not proudly depend

on our strength, by forming our judgments from the old Lacedæmonian war; but let us attend with all possible precaution to our interests and our armaments; and let this be our point in view—to confine him to his own kingdom; not to engage him on equal terms in the field. For if you be satisfied with committing hostilities, there Nature hath given you many advantages. (Let us but do our part.) The situation of his kingdom, for instance, exposes it to all the fury of an enemy; not to speak of many other circumstances. But if we once come to a regular engagement, there his experience must give him the superiority.

But these are not the only points which require your attention: nor are you to oppose him only by the arts of war. It is also necessary that reason and penetration should inspire you with an abhorrence of those who plead his cause before you; ever bearing in mind the absolute impossibility of conquering our foreign enemy until we have punished those who are serving him within our walls. But this, I call the powers of heaven to witness, ye cannot, ye will not do! No: such is your infatuation, or madness, or—I know not what to call it (for I am oftentimes tempted to believe that some power more than human is driving us to ruin), that through malice, or envy, or a spirit of ridicule, or some like motive, you command hirelings to speak (some of whom dare not deny that they are

hirelings), and make their calumnies serve your mirth. Yet, shocking as this is, there is something still more shocking: these men are allowed to direct the public affairs with greater security than your faithful counsellors. And now, observe the dreadful consequences of listening to such wretches. I shall mention facts well known to you all.

In Olynthus, the administration of affairs was divided between two parties; the one, in the interest of Philip, entirely devoted to him; the other, inspired by true patriotism, directed all their efforts to preserve the freedom of their country. To which of these are we to charge the ruin of the State; or who betrayed the troops, and by that treachery destroyed Olynthus? The creatures of Philip. Yet, while their city stood, these men pursued the advocates for liberty with such malicious accusations and invectives that an assembly of the people was persuaded even to banish Apollonides.

But this is not the only instance. The same custom hath produced the same calamities in other places. In Eretria, at the departure of Plutarchus and the foreign troops, when the people had possession of the city and of Porthmus, some were inclined to seek our protection, some to submit to Philip. But, being influenced by this latter party on most, or rather all occasions, the poor unfortunate

Eretrians were at length persuaded to banish their faithful counsellors. And the consequence was this: Philip, their confederate and friend, detached a thousand mercenaries under the command of Hipponicus, razed the fortifications of Porthmus, set three tyrants over them, Hipparchus, Automedon, and Clitarchus; and after that, when they discovered some inclination to shake off the yoke, drove them twice out of their territory; once by the forces commanded by Eurylochus, and again by those under Parmenio.

To give but one instance more. In Oreum, Philistides was the agent of Philip; as were Menippus, and Socrates, and Thoas, and Agapæus, the present masters of that city. And this was universally known. But there was one Euphræus, a man for some time resident at Athens, who stood up against captivity and slavery. Much might be said of the injurious and contemptuous treatment which he received from the people of Oreum on other occasions. But the year before the taking of the city, as he saw through the traitorous designs of Philistides and his accomplices, he brought a formal impeachment against them. Immediately considerable numbers form themselves into a faction (directed and supported by Philip), and hurry away Euphræus to prison, as a disturber of the public peace. The people of Oreum were witnesses of this; but instead of

defending him, and bringing his enemies to condign punishment, showed no resentment towards them; but approved, and triumphed in his sufferings. And now the faction, possessed of all the power they wished for, laid their schemes for the ruin of the city, and were carrying them into execution. Among the people, if any man perceived this he was silent; struck with the remembrance of Euphræus and his sufferings. And to such dejection were they reduced, that no one dared to express the least apprehension of the approaching danger, until the enemy drew up before their walls, and prepared for an assault. Then some defended, others betrayed their State. When the city had thus been shamefully and basely lost, the faction began to exercise the most tyrannic power; having, either by banishment or death, removed all those who had asserted their own cause and that of Euphræus; and were still ready for any noble enterprise. Euphræus himself put an end to his own life; and thus gave proof that, in his opposition to Philip, he had been actuated by a just and pure regard to the interests of his country.

And now, what could be the reason (you may possibly ask with surprise) that the people of Olynthus, and those of Eretria, and those of Oreum, all attended with greater pleasure to the advocates of Philip than to their own friends? The same

reason which prevails here. Because they who are engaged on the part of truth and justice can never, even if they were inclined, advance anything to recommend themselves to favor; their whole concern is for the welfare of their State. The others need but to soothe and flatter in order to second the designs of Philip. The one press for supplies; the others insist that they are not wanted; the one call their countrymen to battle, and alarm them with apprehensions of danger; the others are ever recommending peace, until the toils come too near to be escaped. And thus, on all occasions, one set of men speak but to insinuate themselves into the affections of their fellow-citizens; the other to preserve them from ruin; till at last the interests of the State are given up; not corruptly or ignorantly, but from a desperate purpose of yielding to the fate of a constitution thought to be irrecoverably lost. And, by the powers of heaven! I dread that this may prove to be your case, when you find that reflection cannot serve you! And when I turn my eyes to the men who have reduced you to this, it is not terror that I feel; it is the utmost detestation. For whether they act through design or ignorance, the distress to which they are reducing us is manifest. But far be this distress from us, Athenians! It were better to die ten thousand deaths than to be guilty of a servile compliance to Philip, and to

abandon any of your faithful counsellors! The people of Oreum have now met a noble return for their confidence in Philip's creatures and their violence towards Euphræus. The Eretrians are nobly rewarded for driving out our ambassadors, and committing their affairs to Clitarchus. Captivity, and stripes, and racks are their reward. Great was his indulgence to the Olynthians, for choosing Lasthenes their general, and banishing Apollonides. It were folly and baseness to be amused with such false hopes as theirs, when neither our counsels direct us nor our inclinations prompt us to the pursuit of our true interests, and to suffer those who speak for our enemies to persuade us that the State is too powerful to be affected by any accident whatever. It is shameful to cry out, when some event hath surprised us, "Heavens! who could have expected this? We should have acted thus and thus, and avoided these and these errors." There are many things the Olynthians can now mention which, if foreseen in time, would have prevented their destruction. The people of Oreum can mention many; those of Phocis many; every State that hath been destroyed can mention many such things. But what doth it avail them now? While the vessel is safe, whether it be great or small, the mariner, the pilot, every person should exert himself in his particular station, and preserve it from being wrecked either by villainy or

unskilfulness. But when the sea hath once broken in, all care is vain. And therefore, Athenians, while we are yet safe, possessed of a powerful city, favored with many resources, our reputation illustrious—what are we to do? (Perhaps some have sat with impatience to ask.) I shall now give my opinion, and propose it in such form, that, if approved, your voices may confirm it.

Having, in the first place, provided for your defence, fitted out our navy, raised your supplies, and arrayed your forces (for, although all other people should submit to slavery, you should still contend for freedom); having made such a provision, I say, and this in the sight of Greece, then we are to call others to their duty; and, for this purpose, to send ambassadors into all parts, to Peloponnesus, to Rhodes, to Chios, and even to the King (for he is by no means unconcerned in opposing the rapidity of this man's progress). If ye prevail, ye will have shares in the dangers and expense which may arise; at least you may gain some respite; and, as we are engaged against a single person, and not to the united powers of a commonwealth, this may be of advantage; as were those embassies of last year into Peloponnesus, and those remonstrances which were made in several places by me and Polydatus, that true patriot, and Hegesippus, and Clitomachus, and Lycurgus, and the other ministers, which checked

his progress, prevented his attack on Ambracia, and secured Peloponnesus from an invasion.

I do not mean that we should endeavor to raise that spirit abroad which we ourselves are unwilling to assume. It would be absurd to neglect our own interests, and yet pretend a regard for the common cause; or, while we are insensible to present dangers, to think of alarming others with apprehensions for futurity. No; let us provide the forces in the Chersonesus with money, and everything else that they desire. Let us begin with vigor on our part; then call on the other Greeks; convene, instruct, exhort them. Thus it becomes a State of such dignity as ours. If you think the protection of Greece may be intrusted to the Chalcidians and Megareans, and so desert its cause, you do not think justly. It will be well if they can protect themselves. No; this is your province: this is that prerogative transmitted from your ancestors, the reward of all their many, and glorious, and great dangers. If every man sits down in ease and indulgence, and studies only to avoid trouble, he will certainly find no one to supply his place; and I am also apprehensive that we may be forced into all that trouble to which we are so averse. Were there persons to act in our stead, our inactivity would have long since discovered them; but there are really none.

You have now heard my sentiments. You have

heard the measures I propose, and by which I apprehend our affairs may be yet retrieved. If any man can offer some more salutary course, let him rise and declare his opinion. And, whatever be your resolution, the gods grant that we may feel its good effects!

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

ON THE CHERSONESUS

[Selection.] *Demosthenes.*

The Thracian Chersonesus was a second Thermopylæ to Athens, the bulwark of her maritime empire on the north. As it commanded the corn trade of the Black Sea, on its safety depended the very subsistence of Athens. Philip attempted to veil his designs on the Chersonesus under the guise of a remonstrance against Diopseithes, who had charge of the Athenian mercenaries there. In this speech, Demosthenes holds that the real subject of debate was not the conduct of Diopseithes, but the safety of the Chersonesus.

AND now, in the name of Heaven! suppose that the States of Greece should thus demand an account of those opportunities which your indolence hath lost. "Men of Athens! you are ever sending embassies to us; you assure us that Philip is projecting our ruin, and that, of all the Greeks, you warn us to guard against this man's designs." (And it is too true we have done this.) "But, O most wretched of mankind! when this man hath been ten months detained abroad; when sickness, and the severity of winter, and the armies of his enemies rendered it impossible for him to return home, you neither restored the liberty of Eubœa, nor recovered any of your own dominions. But while you sit at home in

perfect ease and health (if such a state may be called health), Eubœa is commanded by his two tyrants; the one, just opposite to Attica, to keep you perpetually in awe; the other to Scyathus. Yet you have not attempted to oppose even this. No; you have submitted; you have been insensible to your wrongs; you have fully declared, that if Philip were ten times to die, it would not inspire you with the least degree of vigor. Why then these embassies, these accusations, all this unnecessary trouble to us?" If they should say this, what could we allege? what answer could we give? I know not.

We have those among us who think a speaker fully confuted by asking, "What then is to be done?" To whom I answer, with the utmost truth and justness, "Not what we are now doing." But I shall be more explicit, if they will be as ready to follow as to ask advice.

First, then, Athenians, be firmly convinced of these truths: that Philip does commit hostilities against us, and has violated the peace (and let us no longer accuse each other of his crimes); that he is the implacable enemy of this whole city, of the ground on which this city stands, of every inhabitant within these walls, even of those who imagine themselves highest in his favor. If they doubt this, let them think of Euthycrates and Lasthenes, the Olynthians. They who seemed the

nearest to his heart, the moment they betrayed their country, were distinguished only by the superior cruelty of their death. But it is against our constitution that his arms are principally directed; nor, in all his schemes, in all his actions, hath he anything so immediately in view as to subvert it. And there is in some sort a necessity for this. He knows full well that his conquests, however great and extensive, can never be secure while you continue free; but that, if once he meets with any accident (and every man is subject to many), all those whom he hath forced into his service will instantly revolt, and fly to you for protection: for you are not naturally disposed to grasp at empire yourselves, but to frustrate the ambitious attempts of others; to be ever ready to oppose usurpation, and assert the liberty of mankind; this is your peculiar character. And, therefore, it is not without regret that he sees in your freedom a spy on the incidents of his fortune. Nor is this his reasoning weak or trivial.

In the first place, therefore, we are to consider him as the enemy of our State, the implacable enemy of our free constitution. Nothing but the deepest sense of this can give you a true, vigorous, and active spirit. In the next place, be assured that everything he is now laboring, everything he is concerting, he is concerting against our city; and that, wherever any man opposes him, he op-

poses an attempt against these walls: for none of you can be weak enough to imagine that Philip's desires are centred in those paltry villages of Thrace (for what name else can one give to Drongilus, and Cabyle, and Mastira, and all those places he is now reducing to his obedience?); that he endures the severity of toils and seasons, and braves the utmost dangers for these, and has no designs on the ports, and the arsenals, and the navies, and the silver mines, and all the other revenues of Athens; but that he will leave them for you to enjoy; while, for some wretched hoards of grain in the cells of Thrace, he takes up his winter quarters in the horrors of a dungeon. Impossible! No; these and all his expeditions are really intended to facilitate the conquest of Athens.

Let us, then, approve ourselves men of wisdom; and, fully persuaded of these truths, let us shake off our extravagant and dangerous supineness; let us supply the necessary expenses; let us call on our allies; let us take all possible measures for keeping up a regular army; so that, as he hath his force constantly prepared to injure and enslave the Greeks, yours, too, may be ever ready to protect and assist them. If you depend on occasional detachments, you cannot ever expect the least degree of success; you must keep an army constantly on foot, provide for its maintenance, appoint public treasurers, and by all possible

means secure your military funds; and while these officers account for all disbursements, let your generals be bound to answer for the conduct of the war. Let these be your measures, these your resolutions, and you will compel Philip to live in the real observance of an equitable peace, and to confine himself to his own kingdom (which is most for our interest), or we shall fight him on equal terms.

If any man thinks that the measures I propose will require great expense, and be attended with much toil and trouble, he thinks justly. Yet, let him consider what consequences must attend the State if these measures be neglected, and it will appear that we shall really be gainers by engaging heartily in this cause. Suppose some god should be our surety (for no mortal ought to be relied on in an affair of such moment) that, if we continue quiet and give up all our interests, he will not at last turn his arms against us; it would yet be shameful; it would (I call all the powers of heaven to witness!) be unworthy of you, unworthy the dignity of your country and the glory of your ancestors, to abandon the rest of Greece to slavery for the sake of private ease. I, for my part, would die rather than propose so mean a conduct; however, if there be any other person who will recommend it, be it so; neglect your defence; give up your interests! But if there be

no such counsellor; if, on the contrary, we all foresee that the farther this man is suffered to extend his conquests, the more formidable and powerful enemy we must find in him, why this reluctance? why do we delay? or when, my countrymen, will we perform our duty? Must some necessity compel us? What one may call the necessity of freemen not only presses us now, but hath long since been felt; that of slaves, it is to be wished, may never approach us. And how do these differ? To a freeman, the disgrace of past misconduct is the most urgent necessity; to a slave, stripes and bodily pains. Far be this from us! It ought not to be mentioned.

Nor is the danger which threatens us the same with that of other people. It is not the conquest of Athens which Philip aims at. No; it is our utter extirpation. He knows full well that slavery is a state you would not, or, if you were inclined, you could not submit to; for sovereignty is become habitual to you. Nor is he ignorant that, at any unfavorable juncture, you have more power to obstruct his enterprises than the whole world beside.

Let us then be assured that we are contending for the very being of our State. Let this inspire us with abhorrence of those who have sold themselves to this man, and let them feel the severity of public justice; for it is not possible to conquer

our foreign enemy until we have punished those traitors who are serving him within our walls. Else, while we strike on these as so many obstacles, our enemies must necessarily prove superior to us. And whence is it that he dares treat you with insolence (I cannot give his present conduct any other name), that he utters menaces against you, while on others he confers acts of kindness (to deceive them at least, if for no other purpose)? Thus, by heaping favors on the Thessalians, he hath reduced them to their present slavery. It is not possible to recount the various artifices by which he abused the wretched Olynthians, from his first insidious gift of Potidæ. But now he seduced the Thebans to his party, by making them masters of Bœotia, and easing them of a great and grievous war. And thus, by being gratified in some favorite point, these people are either involved in calamities known to the whole world, or wait with submission for the moment when such calamities are to fall on them. I do not recount all that you yourselves have lost, Athenians; but in the very conclusion of the peace, how have you been deceived? how have you been despoiled? Was not Phocis, was not Thermopylæ, were not our Thracian dominions, Doriscum, Serrium, and even our ally Cersobleptes, all wrested from us? Is he not at this time in possession of Cardia, and does he not

avow it? Whence is it, I say, that he treats you in so singular a manner? Because ours is the only State where is allowed full liberty to plead the cause of an enemy; and the man who sells his country may harangue securely, at the very time that you are despoiled of your dominions. It was not safe to speak for Philip at Olynthus until the people of Olynthus had been gained by the surrender of Potidæ. In Thessaly, it was not safe to speak for Philip until the Thessalians had been gained by the expulsion of the tyrants and the recovery of their rank of Amphictyons; nor could it have been safely attempted at Thebes before he had restored Bœotia and extirpated the Phocians. But at Athens, although he hath robbed us of Amphipolis and the territory of Cardia; though he awes us with his fortifications in Eubœa; though he be now on his march to Byzantium; yet his partisans may speak for Philip without any danger. Hence, some of them, from the meanest poverty, have on a sudden risen to affluence; some, from obscurity and disgrace, to eminence and honor; while you, on the contrary, from glory, have sunk into meanness; from riches, to poverty; for the riches of a State I take to be its allies, its credit, its connections; in all of which you are poor. And by your neglect of these, by your utter insensibility to your wrongs, he is become fortunate and great, the terror of the

Greeks and barbarians; and you abandoned and despised; splendid, indeed, in the abundance of your markets; but as to any real provision for your security, ridiculously deficient.

I have heard it objected, "That indeed I ever speak with reason; yet still this is no more than words: that the State requires something more effectual, some vigorous action." On which I shall give my sentiments without the least reserve. The sole business of a speaker is, in my opinion, to propose the course you are to pursue. This were easy to be proved. You know, that when the great Timotheus moved you to defend the Eubœans against the tyranny of Thebes, he addressed you thus: "What, my countrymen! when the Thebans are actually in the island, are you deliberating what is to be done? what part to be taken? Will you not cover the seas with your navies? Why are you not at the Piræus? why are you not embarked?" Thus Timotheus advised; thus you acted, and success ensued. But had he spoken with the same spirit, and had your indolence prevailed, and his advice been rejected, would the State have had the same success? By no means. And so in the present case; vigor and execution is your part; from you are to be expected only wisdom and integrity.

I shall give simply the summary of my counsel, and then descend. You should raise supplies; you

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should keep up your present forces, and reform whatever abuses may be found in them (not break them entirely on the first complaint). You should send ambassadors into all parts, to reform, to remonstrate, to exert all their efforts in the service of the State. But, above all things, let those corrupt ministers feel the severest punishment; let them, at all times, and in all places, be the objects of your abhorrence: that wise and faithful counsellors may appear to have consulted their own interests as well as that of others. If you will act thus, if you will shake off this indolence, even yet, perhaps, we may promise ourselves some good fortune. But if you only just exert yourselves in acclamations and applauses, and when anything is to be done, sink again into your supineness, I do not see how all the wisdom of the world can save the State from ruin, when you deny your assistance.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

ÆSCHINES

Æschines was born about 390 B.C., six years before Demosthenes. He was the son of Atrometus, a schoolmaster, and Glaucothea. At the age of eighteen, he entered on the military service, and won some distinction as a soldier. After some experience as a clerk in a government office, he took to the stage, which he followed with indifferent success. Owing to an accident which disgraced him as an actor, he left the stage and returned to his earlier profession of clerk, attaching himself to two distinguished statesmen, Aristophon and Eubulus, with the hope of gaining political distinction.

His experience on the stage had taught him how to manage his voice, to pose, and to declaim ; and his native ability supplied largely what was lacking in his earlier training. He early became an advocate of the Macedonian party, and it is to his frequent collisions with Demosthenes that he is indebted for his fame. After his failure to receive one fifth of the votes in the trial in the matter of the Crown, he left Athens in disgrace and never returned. He is said to have gone to Rhodes and set up a school of rhetoric there.

Æschines was a man of high intellectual endowments ; he has a wide range of vocabulary, he is excellent in his narrative, he possesses the merit of impressive and elevated diction; but he is lacking in moral force, and this was the cause of his downfall.

Only three of the orations of Æschines have come down to us, that against Timarchus, that on the Embassy, and the one against Ctesiphon—all bearing directly or indirectly on his quarrel with Demosthenes.

For an extensive literary criticism of Æschines' life and speeches, see Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit,* iii., 2, pp. 153–266 ; the standard text is that of Franke (Teubner, 1887) ; the best German edition with notes is Weidner's (Berlin, 1872) ; Richardson's edition of Weidner's Against Ctesiphon may be recommended.

THE ORATIONS ON THE CROWN

FIRST ORATION ON THE CROWN

Æschines.

In 338 B.C., after the battle of Chæronea, Demosthenes had been placed on the Commission for the fortification of Athens, and made treasurer of the fund for theatrical displays. Early in 336 B.C., Ctesiphon proposed that he should for this service receive a golden crown, and that the proclamation should be made in the theatre at the Great Dionysia. This measure was adopted by the Senate, and deposited as a bill among the public records. It still needed the ratification of the Assembly to become an act. Æschines, at this point, to stop the progress of the bill, gave notice that he intended to proceed against Ctesiphon for having proposed an unconstitutional measure. The grounds of his indictment were three: (1) that Demosthenes had not yet passed his audit as treasurer, and under such circumstances it was illegal to crown an official; (2) that the proclamation of a crown in the theatre was unlawful; (3) that Demosthenes had not been a public benefactor and the laws forbade the insertion of a falsehood in the public records. In the third point was the gist of the case.

Mere notice of the action was sufficient to postpone adoption of the bill, and for seven years Æschines delayed its passage. Finally in the summer of 330 B.C. the action was brought.

It was no ordinary legal contest. It was the death-struggle of personal antagonists, the final contest of two opposing political parties represented in their mightiest champions. Æschines, as accuser of Ctesiphon, opened the case as follows:

YOU see, Athenians! what forces are prepared, what numbers formed and arrayed, what soliciting through the assembly, by a certain party; —and all this to oppose the fair and ordinary course

of justice in the State. As to me, I stand here in firm reliance, first on the immortal gods, next on the laws and you, convinced that faction never can have greater weight with you than law and justice.

It were to be wished, indeed, that the presidents of our senate and of our popular assembly would attend with due care to the order of their debates; that the laws ordained by Solon to secure the decency of public speaking might still preserve their force; that so our elder citizens might first arise in due and decent form (as these laws direct), without tumult or confusion, and each declare in order the salutary counsels of his sage experience; that, after these, our other citizens who chose to speak might severally, and in order, according to their ages, propose their sentiments on every subject. Thus, in my opinion, would the course of government be more exactly regulated, and thus would our assemblies be less frequently engaged in trials. But now, when these institutions, so confessedly excellent, have lost their force; when men propose illegal resolutions without reserve or scruple; when others are found to put them to the vote, not regularly chosen to preside in our assemblies, but men who have raised themselves to this dignity by intrigue; when, if any of the other senators on whom the lot of presidency has fairly fallen, should discharge his office faith-

Æschines.

From the statue in the Boston Museum.

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fully, and report your voices truly, there are men who threaten to impeach him, men who invade our rights, and regard the administration as their private property; who have secured their vassals, and raised themselves to sovereignty; who have suppressed such judicial procedures as are founded on established laws, and, in the decision of those appointed by temporary decrees, consult their passions; now, I say, that most sage and virtuous proclamation is no longer heard, "Who is disposed to speak of those above fifty years old?" and then, "Who of the other citizens in their turns?" Nor is the indecent license of our speakers any longer restrained by our laws, by our magistrates; no, nor by the presiding tribe which contains a full tenth part of the community.

If such be our situation, such the present circumstances of the State, and of this you seem convinced, one part alone of our polity remains (as far as I may presume to judge)—prosecutions of those who violate the laws. Should you suppress these—should you permit them to be suppressed—I freely pronounce your fate; that your government must be gradually and imperceptibly given up to the power of a few. You are not to be informed, Athenians, that there are three different modes of government established in the world: the monarchical, the government of the few, and the free republic. In the two former

the administration is directed by the pleasure of the ruling powers; in free States, it is regulated by established laws. It is then a truth, of which none shall be ignorant, which every man should impress deeply on his mind, that when he enters the tribunal, to decide a case of violation of the laws, he that day gives sentence on his own liberties. Wisely therefore has our legislator prescribed this, as the first clause in the oath of every judge: "I will give my voice agreeably to the laws"; well knowing, that when the laws are preserved sacred in every State, the freedom of their constitution is most effectually secured. Let these things be ever kept in memory, that your indignation may be kindled against all those whose decrees have been illegal. Let not any of their offences be deemed of little moment, but all of the greatest importance; nor suffer your rights to be wrested from you by any power; neither by the combinations of your generals, who, by conspiring with our public speakers, have frequently involved the State in danger; nor by the solicitations of foreigners, who have been brought up to screen some men from justice, whose administration has been notoriously illegal. But as each man among you would be ashamed to desert from his post in battle, so think it shameful to abandon the post this day assigned to you by the laws, that of guardians of the constitution.

Let it also be remembered that the whole body of our citizens has now committed their State, their liberties, into your hands. Some of them are present awaiting the event of this trial; others are called away to attend on their private affairs. Show the due reverence to these, remember your oaths and your laws; and if we convict Ctesiphon of having proposed decrees illegal, false, and detrimental to the State, reverse these illegal decrees, assert the freedom of your constitution, and punish those who have administered your affairs in opposition to your laws, in contempt of your constitution, and in total disregard of your interests. If, with these sentiments impressed on your minds, you attend to what is now to be proposed, you must, I am convinced, proceed to a decision just and religious, a decision of the utmost advantage to yourselves, and to the State.

To enter into a minute examination of the life of Demosthenes I fear might lead me into a detail too tedious. And why should I insist on such points as the circumstances of the indictment for his wound, brought before the Areopagus, against Demomeles his kinsman, and the gashes he inflicted on his own head? Or why should I speak of the expedition under Cephisodotus, and the sailing of our fleet to the Hellespont, when Demosthenes acted as a Trierarch, entertained the admiral on board his ship, made him partaker of

his table, of his sacrifices and religious rites, confessed his just right to all those instances of affection, as an hereditary friend; and yet, when an impeachment had been brought against him which affected his life, appeared as his accuser? Why, again, should I take notice of his affair with Midias; of the blows which he received in his office of director of the entertainments; or how, for the sum of thirty *minæ,* he compounded this insult, as well as the sentence which the people pronounced against Midias in the theatre? These and the like particulars I determine to pass over; not that I would betray the cause of justice; not that I would recommend myself to favor by an affected tenderness; but lest it should be objected that I produce facts true, indeed, but long since acknowledged and notorious. Say, then, Ctesiphon, when the most heinous instances of this man's baseness are so incontestably evident that his accuser exposes himself to the censure not of advancing falsehoods, but of recurring to facts so long acknowledged and notorious, is he to be publicly honored, or to be branded with infamy? And shall you, who have presumed to form decrees equally contrary to truth and to the laws, insolently bid defiance to the tribunal, or feel the weight of public justice?

My objections to his public conduct shall be more explicit. I am informed that Demosthenes,

when admitted to his defence, means to enumerate four different periods in which he was engaged in the administration of affairs. One, and the first, of these (as I am assured) he accounts that time in which we were at war with Philip for Amphipolis: and this period he closes with the peace and alliance which we concluded, in consequence of the decree proposed by Philocrates, in which Demosthenes had equal share, as I shall immediately demonstrate. The second period he computes from the time in which we enjoyed this peace down to the day when he put an end to a treaty that had till then subsisted, and himself proposed the decree for war. The third, from the time when hostilities were commenced down to the fatal battle of Chæronea. The fourth is this present time.

After this particular specification, as I am informed, he means to call on me, and to demand explicitly on which of these four periods I found my prosecution; and at what particular time I object to his administration as inconsistent with the public interest. Should I refuse to answer, should I attempt the least evasion or retreat, he boasts that he will pursue me and tear off my disguise; that he will haul me to the tribunal, and compel me to reply. That I may then at once confound this presumption, and guard you against such artifice, I thus explicitly reply: before these

your judges, before the other citizens spectators of this trial, before all the Greeks who have been solicitous to hear the event of this cause (and of these I see no small number, but rather more than ever yet known to attend on any public trial), I thus reply: I say, that on every one of these four periods which you have thus distinguished, is my accusation founded. And if the gods vouchsafe me their assistance, if the judges grant me an impartial hearing, and if my memory shall faithfully recall the several instances of your guilt, I am fully confident that I shall demonstrate to this tribunal that the preservation of the State is to be ascribed to the gods, and to those citizens who have conducted our affairs with a truly patriotic and well-tempered zeal, and that all our calamities are to be imputed to Demosthenes as their real author. And in this charge I shall observe the very same method which, as I am informed, he intends to use. I shall begin with speaking of his first period, then proceed to the second and the third in order, and conclude with observations on present affairs. To that peace, then, I now go back, of which you, Demosthenes and Philocrates, were the first movers.

And did not the gods warn us of our danger? did they not urge the necessity of vigilance, in a language scarcely less explicit than that of man? Surely never was a State more evidently protected by the gods, and more notoriously ruined by its

popular leaders. Were we not sufficiently alarmed by that portentous incident in the mysteries, the sudden death of the initiated? Did not Amyniades still further warn us of our danger, and urge us to send deputies to Delphi to consult the god? And did not Demosthenes oppose this design? did he not, rude and brutal as he is, insolently presuming on that full power to which your favor raised him, say that the Pythian priestess was inspired by Philip? And did he not at last, without one propitious sacrifice, one favorable omen, to assure us of success, send out armies to manifest and inevitable danger? Yet he lately presumed to say that Philip did not venture to march into our territories, for this very reason, because his sacrifices had not been propitious. What punishment therefore is due to thy offences, thou pest of Greece? If the conqueror was prevented from invading the territories of the vanquished by unpropitious sacrifices, shouldst thou, who, without the least attention to futurity, without one favorable omen, hast sent our armies to the field—shouldst thou be honored with a crown for those calamities in which thou hast involved the State, or driven from our borders with ignominy?

And what can be conceived surprising or extraordinary that we have not experienced? Our lives have not passed in the usual and natural course of human affairs: no, we were born to be an object

of astonishment to posterity. Do we not see the King of Persia, he who opened a passage for his navy through Mount Athos, who stretched his bridge across the Hellespont, who demanded earth and water from the Greeks; he who in his letters presumed to style himself sovereign of mankind from the rising to the setting sun; now no longer contending to be lord over others, but to secure his personal safety? Do we not see those crowned with honor, and ennobled with the command of the war against Persia, who rescued the Delphian temple from sacrilegious hands? Hath not Thebes, our neighboring State, been in one day torn from the midst of Greece? And, although this calamity may justly be imputed to her own pernicious counsels, yet we are not to ascribe such infatuation to any natural causes, but to the fatal influence of some evil genius. . . .

Since you were not personal spectators of their calamities, represent them to your imagination; think that you behold their city stormed, their walls levelled with the ground, their houses in flames, their wives and children dragged to slavery, their hoary citizens, their ancient matrons, unlearning liberty in their old age, pouring out their tears and crying to you for pity; expressing their resentment, not against the instruments, but the real authors of their calamities; importuning you by no means to grant a crown to this pest of Greece,

but rather to guard against that curse, that fatal genius which evermore pursues him. For never did any State, never did any private persons conduct their affairs to a happy issue, that were guided by the counsels of Demosthenes. And is it not shameful, my countrymen, that in the case of those mariners who transport men over to Salamis, it should be enacted by a law, that whoever shall overset his vessel in this passage, even inadvertently, shall never be again admitted to the same employment (so that no one may be suffered to expose the persons of the Greeks to careless hazard); and yet that this man, who has quite overset all Greece, as well as this State, should be still intrusted with the helm of government? . . .

"But all this is granted; yet he is a zealous friend to our free constitution." If you consider only his fair and plausible discourses, you may be deceived in this as you have been in other instances. But look into his real nature and character, and you cannot be deceived. Hence it is that you are to form your judgment. And here I shall recount the several particulars necessary to form the character of a faithful citizen and a useful friend to liberty. On the other hand, I shall describe the man who is likely to prove a bad member of society and a favorer of the arbitrary power of a few. Do you apply these two descriptions to him, and consider, not what he alleges, but what he really is.

I presume, then, it must be universally acknowledged that these are the characteristics of a friend to our free constitution. First, he must be of a liberal descent both by father and mother, lest the misfortune of his birth should inspire him with a prejudice against the laws which secure our freedom. Secondly, he must be descended from such ancestors as have done service to the people, at least from such as have not lived in enmity with them; this is indispensably necessary, lest he should be prompted to do the State some injury, in order to revenge the quarrel of his ancestors. Thirdly, he must be discreet and temperate in his course of life, lest a luxurious dissipation of his fortune might tempt him to receive a bribe in order to betray his country. Fourthly, he must have integrity united with a powerful elocution; for it is the perfection of a statesman to possess that goodness of mind which may ever direct him to the most salutary measures, together with a skill and power of speaking which may effectually recommend him to his hearers. Yet, of the two, integrity is to be preferred to eloquence. Fifthly, he must have a manly spirit, that in war and danger he may not desert his country. It may be sufficient to say, without further repetition, that a friend to the arbitrary power of a few is distinguished by the characteristics directly opposed to these.

And now consider which of these agrees to Demosthenes. Let us state the account with the most scrupulous regard to justice. This man's father was Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, a citizen of repute (for I shall adhere strictly to truth). But how he stands as to family, with respect to his mother and her father, I must now explain. There was once in Athens a man called Gylon, who by betraying Nymphæum in Pontus to the enemy, a city then possessed by us, was obliged to fly from his country, in order to escape the sentence of death denounced against him, and settled on the Bosphorus, where he obtained from the neighboring princes a tract of land called "the Gardens," and married a woman who indeed brought him a considerable fortune, but was by birth a Scythian. By her he had two daughters, whom he sent hither with a great quantity of wealth; one of them he settled—I shall not mention with whom, that I may not provoke the resentment of too many ; the other Demosthenes, the Pæanian, married in defiance of our laws, and from her is the present Demosthenes sprung—our turbulent and malicious informer. So that by his grandfather, in the female line, he is an enemy to the State, for this grandfather was condemned to death by your ancestors ; and by his mother he is a Scythian—one who assumes the language of Greece, but whose abandoned principles betray his barbarous descent.

And what has been his course of life? He first assumed the office of a Trierarch, and, having exhausted his paternal fortune by this ridiculous vanity, he descended to the profession of a hired advocate; but having lost all credit in this employment by betraying the secrets of his clients to their antagonists, he forced his way into the gallery, and appeared a popular speaker. When those vast sums of which he had defrauded the public were just dissipated, a sudden tide of Persian gold poured into his exhausted coffers; nor was all this sufficient, for no fund whatever can prove sufficient for the profligate and corrupt. In a word, he supported himself, not by a fortune of his own, but by your perils. But how does he appear with respect to integrity and force of elocution? Powerful in speaking, abandoned in his manners. Of such unnatural depravity in his sensual gratifications, that I cannot describe his practices; I cannot offend that delicacy, to which such shocking descriptions are always odious. And how has he served the public? His speeches have been plausible, his actions traitorous.

As to his courage, I need say but little on that head. Did he himself deny that he is a coward? Were you not sensible of it, I should think it necessary to detain you by a formal course of evidence; but as he has publicly confessed it in our assemblies, and as you have been witnesses of it,

it remains only that I remind you of the laws enacted against such crimes. It was the determination of Solon, our old legislator, that he who evaded his duty in the field, or left his post in battle, should be subject to the same penalties with the man directly convicted of cowardice; for there are laws enacted against cowardice. It may, perhaps, seem wonderful that the law should take cognizance of a natural infirmity; but such is the fact. And why? That every one of us may dread the punishment denounced by law more than the enemy; and thus prove the better soldier in the cause of his country. The man, then, who declines the service of the field, the coward, and he who leaves his post in battle, are by our lawgiver excluded from all share in public deliberations, rendered incapable of receiving the honor of a crown, and denied admission to the religious rites performed by the public. But you direct us to crown a person whom the laws declare to be incapable of receiving a crown; and by your decree you introduce a man into the theatre who is disqualified from appearing there; you call into a place sacred to Bacchus him who, by his cowardice, has betrayed all our sacred places. But that I may not divert you from the great point, remember this: when Demosthenes tells you that he is the friend of liberty, examine not his speeches, but his actions; and

consider not what he professes to be, but what he really is. . . .

And here, in your presence, would I gladly enter into discussion with the author of this decree, as to the nature of those services for which he desires that Demosthenes should be crowned. If you allege, agreeably to the first clause of the decree, that he has surrounded our walls with an excellent intrenchment, I must declare my surprise. Surely the guilt of having rendered such a work necessary far outweighs the merit of execution. It is not he who has strengthened our fortifications, who has dug our intrenchments, who has disturbed the tombs of our ancestors, that should demand the honors of a patriot minister, but he who has procured some intrinsic services to the State. If you have recourse to the second clause, where you presume to say that he is a good man, and has ever persevered in speaking and acting in the interest of the people, strip your decree of its vainglorious pomp; adhere to facts; and prove what you have asserted. I shall not press you with the instances of his corruption in the affairs of Amphissa and Eubœa. But if you intend to transfer the merit of the Theban alliance to Demosthenes, you but impose on the men who are strangers to affairs, and insult those who are acquainted with them, and see through your falsehood. By suppressing all mention of the

urgent juncture, of the illustrious reputation of these our fellow-citizens, the real causes of this alliance, you fancy that you have effectually concealed your fraud in ascribing to Demosthenes a merit which really belongs to the State. And now I shall endeavor to explain the greatness of this arrogance by one striking example. The King of Persia, not long before the descent of Alexander into Asia, despatched a letter to the State, expressed in all the insolence of a barbarian. His shocking and unmannered license appeared in every part; but in the conclusion, particularly, he expressed himself directly thus: "I will not grant you gold; trouble me not with your demands; they shall not be gratified." And yet this man, when he found himself involved in all his present difficulties, without any demand from Athens, but freely, and of himself, sent thirty talents to the State, which were most judiciously rejected. It was the juncture of affairs, and his terrors, and his pressing want of an alliance which brought this sum; the very causes which effected the alliance of Thebes. You are ever sounding in our ears the name of Thebes, you are ever teasing us with the repetition of that unfortunate alliance; but not one word is ever suffered to escape of those seventy talents of Persian gold which you diverted from the public service into your own coffers. Was it not from the want of money, from

the want of only five talents, that the foreign troops refused to give up the citadel to the Thebans? Was it not from the want of nine talents of silver, that when the Arcadians were drawn out, and all the leaders prepared to march, the whole expedition was defeated? But you are in the midst of affluence, you have treasures to satisfy your sensuality; and, to crown all, while he enjoys the royal wealth, the dangers all devolve on you.

The absurdity of these men well deserves to be considered. Should Ctesiphon presume to call upon Demosthenes to speak before you, and should he rise and lavish his praises upon himself, to hear him would be still more painful than all you have suffered by his conduct. Men of real merit, men of whose numerous and glorious services we are clearly sensible, are not yet endured when they speak their own praises. But when a man, the scandal of his country, sounds his own encomium, who can hear such arrogance with any temper? No, Ctesiphon, if you have any sense, avoid so shameless a procedure; make your defence in person. You cannot recur to the pretence of any inability for speaking. It would be absurd that you, who suffered yourself to be chosen ambassador to Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, in order to present our condolements on the death of Alexander, king of the Molossi, should now plead

such an inability. If you were capable of consoling a woman of another country in the midst of her grief, can you decline the defence of a decree for which you are well paid? Or is he to whom you grant this crown such a man as must be totally unknown, even to those on whom he has conferred his services, unless you have an advocate to assist you? Ask the judges whether they know Chabrias, and Iphicrates, and Timotheus. Ask for what reason they made them presents and raised their statues. With one voice they will instantly reply, that to Chabrias they granted these honors on account of the sea-fight at Naxos; to Iphicrates because he cut off the detachment of Lacedæmonians; to Timotheus on account of his expedition to Corcyra; and to others as the reward of those many and glorious services which each performed in war. Ask them again why they refuse the like honors to Demosthenes; they will answer, because he is a corrupted hireling, a coward, and a deserter. Crown him! would this be to confer an honor on Demosthenes? Would it not rather be to disgrace yourselves and those brave men who fell in battle for their country? Imagine that you see these here roused to indignation at the thoughts of granting him a crown! Hard indeed would be the case, if we remove speechless and senseless beings from our borders, such as blocks and stones, when by accident they

have crushed a citizen to death; if in the case of a self-murderer we bury the hand that committed the deed separate from the rest of the body; and yet that we should confer honors on Demosthenes, on him who was the author of the late expedition, the man who betrayed our citizens to destruction. This would be to insult the dead, and to damp the ardor of the living, when they see that the prize of all their virtue is death, and that their memory must perish.

But to urge the point of greatest moment: should any of your sons demand by what examples they are to form their lives, how would you reply? For you well know that it is not only by bodily exercises, by seminaries of learning, or by instructions in music, that our youth is trained, but much more effectually by public examples. Is it proclaimed in the theatre that a man is honored with a crown for his virtue, for his magnanimity, and his patriotism, who yet proves to be abandoned and profligate in his life? The youth who sees this is corrupted. Is public justice inflicted on a man of base and scandalous vices like Ctesiphon? This affords excellent instruction to others. Does the judge who has given a sentence repugnant to honor and to justice, return home and instruct his son? That son is well warranted to reject his instruction. Advice in such a case may well be called impertinence. Not then as judges

only, but as guardians of the State, give your voices in such a manner that you may approve your conduct to those absent citizens who may inquire what has been the decision. You are not to be informed, Athenians, that the reputation of our country must be such as theirs who receive its honors. And surely it must be scandalous to stand in the same point of view, not with our ancestors, but with the unmanly baseness of Demosthenes.

How then may such infamy be avoided? By guarding against those who affect the language of patriotism and public spirit, but whose real characters are traitorous. Loyalty and the love of liberty are words that lie ready for every man. And they are the more prompt to seize them whose actions are the most repugnant to such principles. Whenever, therefore, you have found a man solicitous for foreign crowns, and proclamations of honors granted by the Greeks, oblige him to have recourse to that conduct which the law prescribes; to found his pretensions and proclamations on the true basis, the integrity of his life, and the exact regulation of his manners. Should he not produce this evidence of his merit, refuse your sanction to his honors; support the freedom of your constitution, which is now falling from you. Can you reflect without indignation that our senate and our assembly are neglected with contempt, while letters and deputations are sent to

private houses, not from inferior personages, but from the highest potentates in Asia and in Europe, and for purposes declared capital by the laws? That there are men who are at no pains to conceal their part in such transactions; who avow it in the presence of the people; who openly compare the letters; some of whom direct you to turn your eyes on them, as the guardians of the constitution; others demand public honors, as the favorites of their country; while the people, reduced by a series of dispiriting events, as it were to a state of dotage, or struck with infatuation, regard only the name of freedom, but resign all real power into the hands of others; so that you retire from the assembly, not as from a public deliberation, but as from an entertainment, where each man has paid his club and received his share?

That this is a serious truth, let me offer something to convince you. There was a man (it grieves me to dwell so often on the misfortunes of the State) of a private station, who, for the bare attempt of making a voyage to Samos, was, as a traitor to his country, put instantly to death by the council of Areopagus. Another private man, whose timid spirit, unable to support the general consternation, had driven him to Rhodes, was not long since impeached, and escaped only by the equality of voices; had but one vote more been given for his condemnation, banishment or death

must have been his fate. To these let us oppose the case now before us. A popular orator, the cause of all our calamities, is found guilty of desertion in the field. This man claims a crown, and asserts his right to the honor of a proclamation. And shall not this wretch, the common pest of Greece, be driven from our borders? Or shall we not seize and drag to execution this public plunderer, whose harangues enable him to steer his piratical course through our government? Think on this critical season, in which you are to give your voices. In a few days the Pythian games are to be celebrated, and the convention of Grecian States to be collected. There shall our State be severely censured on account of the late measures of Demosthenes. Should you crown him, you must be deemed accessories to those who violated the general peace. If, on the contrary, you reject the demand, you will clear the State from all imputation. Weigh this clause maturely, as the interest, not of a foreign State, but of your own; and do not lavish your honors inconsiderately; confer them with a scrupulous delicacy; and let them be the distinctions of exalted worth and merit; nor be contented to hear, but look round you, where your own interest is so intimately concerned, and see who are the men who support Demosthenes. Are they his former companions in the chase, his associates in the

manly exercises of his youth? No, by the Olympian God! he never was employed in rousing the wild boar, or in any such exercises as render the body vigorous; he was solely engaged in the sordid arts of fraud and circumvention.

And let not his arrogance escape your attention, when he tells you that by his embassy he wrested Byzantium from the hands of Philip; that his eloquence prevailed on the Acarnanians to revolt; his eloquence transported the souls of the Thebans. He thinks that you are sunk to such a degree of weakness that he may prevail on you to believe that you harbor the very genius of persuasion in your city, and not a vile sycophant. And when at the conclusion of his defence he calls up his accomplices in corruption, as his advocates, then imagine that we see the great benefactors of your country in this place from whence I speak, arrayed against the villainy of those men: Solon, the man who adorned our free constitution with the noblest laws, the philosopher, the renowned legislator, entreating you, with that decent gravity which distinguished his character, by no means to pay a greater regard to the speeches of Demosthenes than to your oaths and laws: Aristides, who was suffered to prescribe to the Greeks their several subsidies, whose daughters received their portions from the people at his decease, roused to indignation at this insult on public justice, and asking

whether you are not ashamed, that when your fathers banished Arthmius the Zelian, who brought in gold from Persia; when they were scarcely restrained from killing a man connected with the people in the most sacred ties, and by public proclamation forbade him to appear in Athens, or in any part of the Athenian territory, yet you are going to crown Demosthenes with a golden crown, who did not bring in gold from Persia, but received bribes himself, and still possesses them. And can you imagine but that Themistocles, and those who fell at Marathon, and those who died at Platæa, and the very sepulchres of our ancestors, must groan if you confer a crown on this man, who confessedly united with the barbarians against the Greeks?

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

SECOND ORATION ON THE CROWN

(THE REPLY TO ÆSCHINES)

[Selection.] *Demosthenes.*

IN the first place, ye men of Athens, I make my prayer to all the powers of Heaven, that such affection as I have ever invariably discovered to this State and all its citizens, you now may entertain for me on this present trial: and (what concerns you nearly, what essentially concerns your religion and your honor) that the gods may so dispose your minds as to permit me to proceed in my defence, not as directed by my adversary (that would be severe, indeed!), but by the laws and by your oath; in which, to all the other equitable clauses, we find this expressly added, "Each party shall have equal audience." This imports not merely that you shall not prejudge, not merely that the same impartiality shall be shown to both; but, still farther, that the contending parties shall each be left at full liberty to arrange and to conduct his pleading as his choice or judgment may determine.

In many instances hath Æschines the entire

advantage in this cause. Two there are of more especial moment. First, as to our interests in the contest, we are on terms utterly unequal; for they are by no means points of equal import, for me to be deprived of your affections, and for him to be defeated in his prosecution. As to me—but, when I am entering on my defence, let me suppress everything ominous, sensible as I must be of this the advantage of my adversary. In the next place, such is the natural disposition of mankind, that invective and accusation are heard with pleasure, while they who speak their own praises are received with impatience. His, then, is the part which commands a favorable acceptance; that which must prove offensive to every single hearer is reserved for me. If, to guard against this disadvantage, I should decline all mention of my own actions, I know not by what means I could refute the charge or establish my pretensions to this honor. If, on the other hand, I enter into a detail of my whole conduct, private and political, I must be obliged to speak perpetually of myself. Here, then, I shall endeavor to preserve all possible moderation; and what the circumstances of the case necessarily extort from me must, in justice, be imputed to him who first moved a prosecution so extraordinary.

I presume, ye judges, you will all acknowledge that in this cause Ctesiphon and I are equally

concerned ; that it calls for my attention no less than his ; for in every case it is grievous and severe to be deprived of our advantages, and especially when they are wrested from us by an enemy. But to be deprived of your favor and affections is a misfortune the most severe, as these are advantages the most important ; and if such be the object of the present contest, I hope, and it is my general request to this tribunal, that while I endeavor to defend myself fairly and equitably against this charge, you will hear me as the laws direct ; those laws which their first author, Solon, the man so tender of our interests, so true a friend to liberty, secured ; not by enacting only, but by the additional provision of that oath imposed on you, ye judges ; not, as I conceive, from any suspicion of your integrity, but from a clear conviction, that as the prosecutor, who is first to speak, hath the advantage of loading his adversary with invectives and calumnies, the defendant could not possibly prevail against them, unless each of you who are to pronounce sentence should, with a reverent attention to that duty which you owe to Heaven, favorably admit the just defence of him who is to answer, vouchsafe an impartial and equal audience to both parties, and thus form your decision on all that hath been urged by both.

As I am on this day to enter into an exact detail of all my conduct, both in private life and in my

public administration, here permit me to repeat those supplications to the gods with which I first began, and in your presence to offer up my prayers; first, that I may be received by you on this occasion with the same affection which I have ever felt for this State and all its citizens; and, in the next place, that Heaven may direct your minds to that determination which shall prove most conducive to the general honor of all, and most exactly consonant to the religious engagements of each individual. . . .

Thus successful in confirming the mutual separation of our States, and encouraged by these decrees and these replies, Philip now leads his forces forward and seizes Elatea; assuming, that at all events Athens and Thebes never could unite. You are no strangers to the confusion which this event raised within these walls. Yet permit me to relate some few striking incidents of our own consternation. It was evening. A courier arrived, and, repairing to the presidents of the senate, informed them that Elatea was taken. In a moment some started from supper, ran to the public place, drove the traders from their stations, and set fire to their sheds; some sent round to call the generals; others clamored for the trumpeter. Thus was the city one scene of tumult. The next morning, by dawn of day, the presidents summoned the senate. The people were instantly collected; and

before any regular authority could convene their assembly, the whole body of citizens had taken their places above. Then the senate entered: the presidents reported their advices, and produced the courier. He repeated his intelligence. The herald then asked in form, "Who chooses to speak?" All was silence. The invitation was frequently repeated: still no man rose; though the generals, though the ordinary speakers were all present; though the voice of Athens then called on some man to speak and save her: for surely the regular and legal proclamation of the herald may be fairly deemed the voice of Athens.

If an honest solicitude for the preservation of the State had on this occasion been sufficient to call forth a speaker, then, my countrymen, ye must have all risen and crowded to the gallery; for well I know this honest solicitude had full possession of your hearts. If wealth had obliged a man to speak, the Three Hundred must have risen. If patriotic zeal and wealth united were the qualification necessary for the speaker, then should we have heard those generous citizens whose beneficence was afterward displayed so nobly in the service of the State; for their beneficence proceeded from this union of wealth and patriotic zeal. But this occasion, the great day, called, it seems, not only for a well-affected and an affluent citizen, but for the man who had traced

these affairs to their very source; who had formed the exactest judgment of Philip's motives, of his secret intentions in this his conduct. He who was not perfectly informed of these; he who had not watched the whole progress of his actions with consummate vigilance; however zealously affected to the State, however blessed with wealth, was in nowise better qualified to conceive or to propose the measures which your interests demanded on an occasion so critical. On that day, then, I was the man who stood forth. And the counsels I then proposed may now merit your attention on a double account: first, to convince you that of all your leaders and ministers, I was the only one who maintained the post of a zealous patriot in your extremity, whose words and actions were devoted to your service in the midst of public consternation: and, secondly, to enable you to judge more clearly of my other actions, by granting a little thought to this. I spoke as follows:

"Those who are thrown into all this confusion, from an opinion that the Thebans are gained over to the interests of Philip, seem to me entirely ignorant of the present state of affairs. Were this the case, I am convinced you would now hear, not that he was at Elatea, but on our very frontier. His intent (as I clearly see) in seizing this post is to facilitate his schemes in Thebes. Attend, and I will now explain the circumstances of that state.

Those of its citizens whom his gold could corrupt or his artifice deceive are all at his devotion; those who at first opposed and continue to oppose him he finds incapable of being wrought on. What then is his design? Why hath he seized Elatea? That by drawing up his forces and displaying his powers on the borders of Thebes he may inspire his adherents with confidence and hopefulness, and may strike such terror into his adversaries that fear or force may drive them into those measures they have hitherto opposed. If then we are resolved in this emergency to cherish the remembrance of every unkindness we may have received from the Thebans—if we regard them with suspicion, as men who have ranged themselves on the side of our enemy—we shall, in the first place, act agreeably to Philip's warmest wishes; and then I am apprehensive that the party which now opposes him may be brought over to his interest, the whole city declare unanimously in his favor, and Thebes and Macedon fall with their united force on Attica. Grant due attention to what I shall propose; let it be calmly weighed, without dispute or cavil, and I doubt not but that my counsels may direct you to the best and most salutary measures and dispel the dangers now impending over the State. What then do I propose?

"First shake off that terror which hath possessed your minds, and, instead of fearing for yourselves,

fear for the Thebans; they are more immediately exposed and must be the first to feel the danger. In the next place, let all those of the age for military service, both infantry and cavalry, march instantly to Eleusis, that Greece may see that you too are assembled in arms; and your friends in Thebes be emboldened to assert their rights, when they are assured, that as they who have sold their country to the Macedonian have a force at Elatea to support them, you, too, stand prepared to support their antagonists. I recommend in the last place, that you nominate ten ambassadors, who, with the generals, shall have full authority to determine the time and all other circumstances of this march. When these ambassadors shall arrive at Thebes how are they to conduct this great affair? This is a point worthy your most serious attention. Make no demands at all of the Thebans; at this juncture it would be dishonorable. Assure them that your forces are ready, and but wait their orders to march to their support as you are deeply affected by their danger, and have been so happy as to foresee and to guard against it. If they are prevailed on to embrace these overtures, we shall effect our great purpose and act with a dignity worthy of our State; but should it happen that we are not so successful, whatever misfortunes they may suffer, to themselves these shall be imputed; while your own conduct shall appear

in no one instance inconsistent with the honor and renown of Athens."

These and other like suggestions did I offer. I came down amid the universal applause of the assembly, without one word of opposition or dissent. Nor did I thus speak without proposing my decree in form; nor did I propose my decree without proceeding on the embassy; nor did I proceed on the embassy without prevailing on the Thebans. From first to last my conduct was uniform, my perseverance invariable, my whole powers entirely devoted to repel the dangers then encompassing the State. Produce the decree made on this occasion. Say, Æschines, what character are we to ascribe to you on that great day? and in what light am I to be considered? As a Batalus, the odious name your scorn and malice have given me? And you, a hero of no ordinary rank, a dramatic hero, a Cresphontes, a Creon, or an Œnomaus, the character in which your vile performance was punished with such heavy stripes? On that day our country had full proof that I, the Batalus, could perform more worthy service than you, the Œnomaus. You performed no services whatever; I discharged the duty of a faithful citizen in the amplest manner.

Here was the foundation laid; here was the first establishment of our interest in Thebes. Hitherto the traitors had been too successful, and all was

animosity, aversion, and suspicion between the cities. But by this decree that danger which hung lowering over our State was in an instant dissipated like a vapor. And surely it was the duty of an honest citizen, if he had any better measures to propose, to have declared them publicly, not to have cavilled now. For the counsellor and the sycophant are characters entirely different in every particular; but in this are they more especially distinguished from each other—that the one fairly declares his opinion previous to the event, and makes himself accountable to those whom he hath influenced, to fortune, to the times, to the world; while the other is silent when he ought to speak, but when some melancholy accident hath happened he dwells on this with the most invidious censure. That was the time (I repeat it) for a man sincerely attached to his country and to truth. Yet, such is my confidence in the abundant merits of my cause, that if any man can now point out a better course, nay, if there be any course at all but that which I pursued, I shall confess myself criminal; for if any more expedient conduct hath been now discovered, I allow that it ought not to have escaped me. But if there neither is, nor was, nor can be such a conduct pointed out, no, not at this day, what was the part of your minister? Was it not to choose the best of such measures as occurred, of such as were really in his power? And

this I did, Æschines, when the herald asked in due form, "Who chooses to address the people?" not "Who will inveigh against things past?" not "Who will answer for things to come?" In this juncture you kept your seat in the assembly without uttering one word. I rose up and spoke. Well! though you were then silent, yet now explain your sentiments. Say, what expedient was there which I should have devised? What favorable juncture was lost to the State by my means? What alliance, what scheme of conduct was there to which I should have rather led my fellow-citizens? Not that the time once elapsed is ever made the subject of debate; for that time no man ever suggests expedients. It is the coming or the present juncture which demands the offices of a counsellor. And in that juncture, when some of our misfortunes, it seems, were coming on, some were already present, consider my intention; do not point your malice at the event; the final issue of all human actions depends on God. Do not then impute it as my offence that Philip was victorious in the battle. This is an event determined by God, not by me. Let it be proved that I did not take every precaution which human prudence could suggest; that I did not exert myself with integrity, with assiduity, with toil even greater than my strength; that the conduct I pursued was not noble, was not worthy of the State, was not

necessary ;—let this be proved, and then accuse me. But if a sudden clap of thunder, if a furious tempest burst at once on us, and laid prostrate, not our State alone, but every State in Greece,—what then ? Am I to be accused ? With equal justice might the trader, who sends out his vessel equipped and furnished for a voyage, be deemed guilty of her wreck, when she had encountered a storm so violent as to endamage, nay, to tear down her tackle. He might plead thus: "I was not pilot in the voyage." Nor was I commander of your army, nor I master of Fortune: she it is who commands the world. And let this be duly weighed: if when the Thebans engaged on our side we were yet fated to this calamity, what were we to expect if they had not only been detached from us, but united with our enemy, in compliance with all his urgent solicitations ? If when the armies fought at a distance of three days' march from Attica such danger and consternation fell on the city, what if the defeat had happened in our own territory ? Think you that we could have stood ? that we could have assembled here ? that we could have breathed ? The respite of one day (at least of two or three) is oftentimes of signal moment to the preservation of a people. In the other case—but I cannot bear to mention what we must have suffered if this State had not been protected by the favor of some god, and the interposition of this

alliance, the perpetual subject [Æschines] of your clamorous malice.

All this particular discussion is addressed to you, ye judges, and to those auditors who stand round the tribunal. As to this miscreant, he needs but one short and plain reply. If you, Æschines, were the only man among us who foresaw the issue, it was your duty to have foretold it to your countrymen; if you did not foresee it, you are as accountable for such ignorance as any other citizen! What better right, then, have you to urge this as a crime against me than I to accuse you on the same occasion? When at this juncture, not to mention others, I approved myself so far a better citizen than you, as I was entirely devoted to what appeared the true interest of my country, not nicely weighing, not once considering my private danger; while you never proposed any better measures, else we had not adopted these, nor in the prosecution of these were we assisted by any services of yours. No; the event discovered that your conduct had been such as the basest, the most inveterate enemy of this State must have pursued. And observable, indeed, it is, that at the very time when Aristratus at Naxos and Aristolaus at Thassus, equally the avowed foes of Athens, are harassing the Athenian partisans by prosecutions, here Æschines hath brought his accusations against Demosthenes. But the man who derives his conse-

quence from the calamities of Greece should rather meet his own just punishment than stand up to prosecute another; the man whose interests are advanced by the conjunctures most favorable to those of our public enemies can never, surely, be a friend to our country. And that this is your case, your life, your actions, the measures you have pursued, the measures you have declined, all demonstrate. Is there anything effected which promises advantage to the State? Æschines is mute. Are we crossed by an untoward accident? Æschines rises. Just as our old sprains and fractures again become sensible when any malady hath attacked our bodies.

But since he hath insisted so much on the event, I shall hazard a bold assertion: but in the name of Heaven! let it not be deemed extravagant; let it be weighed with candor. I say, then, that had we all known what fortune was to attend our efforts; had we all foreseen the final issue; had you foretold it, Æschines; had you bellowed out your terrible denunciations (you, whose voice was never heard); yet, even in such a case, must this city have pursued the very same conduct if she had retained a thought of glory, of her ancestors, or of future times; for thus she could only have been deemed unfortunate in her attempts; and misfortunes are the lot of all men whenever it may please Heaven to inflict them. But if that State which

once claimed the first rank in Greece had resigned this rank in time of danger, she had incurred the censure of betraying the whole nation to the enemy. If we had indeed given up those points without one blow, for which our fathers encountered every peril, who would not have spurned you with scorn ?—you the author of such conduct, not the State, or me ? In the name of Heaven ! say, with what face could we have met those foreigners who sometimes visit us if such scandalous supineness on our part had brought affairs to their present situation ? if Philip had been chosen general of the Grecian army, and some other State had drawn the sword against this insidious nomination, and fought the battle unassisted by the Athenians—that people who in ancient times never preferred inglorious security to honorable danger ? What part of Greece, what part of the barbarian world has not heard that the Thebans in their period of success, that the Lacedæmonians whose power was older and more extensive, that the King of Persia would have cheerfully and joyfully consented that this State should enjoy her own dominions, together with an accession of territory ample as her wishes, on this condition—that she should receive law, and suffer another State to preside in Greece ? But to Athenians this was a condition unbecoming their descent, intolerable to their spirit, repugnant to their nature. Athens

never was once known to live in a slavish, though a secure obedience to unjust and arbitrary power. No; our whole history is one series of noble contests for preëminence; the whole period of our existence hath been spent in braving dangers for the sake of glory and renown. And so highly do you esteem such conduct, so consonant to the Athenian character, that those of your ancestors who were most distinguished in the pursuit of it are ever the most favorite objects of your praise. And with reason; for who can reflect without astonishment on the magnanimity of those men who resigned their lands, gave up their city, and embarked in their ships, to avoid the odious state of subjection? who chose Themistocles, the adviser of this conduct, to command their forces; and when Cyrcilus proposed that they should yield to the terms prescribed, stoned him to death? Nay, the public indignation was not yet allayed. Your very wives inflicted the same vengeance on his wife; for the Athenians of that day looked out for no speaker, no general to procure them a state of prosperous slavery. They had the spirit to reject even life, unless they were allowed to enjoy that life in freedom. For it was a principle fixed deeply in every breast, that man was not born to his parents only, but to his country. And mark the distinction: he who regards himself as born only to his parents waits in passive submission for

the hour of his natural dissolution; he who considers that he is the child of his country also is prepared to meet his fate freely rather than behold that country reduced to vassalage, and thinks those insults and disgraces which he must meet in a State enslaved much more terrible than death. Should I then attempt to assert that it was I who inspired you with sentiments worthy of your ancestors, I should meet the just resentment of every hearer. No; it is my point to show that such sentiments are properly your own; that they were the sentiments of my country long before my days. I claim but my share of merit in having acted on such principles in every part of my administration. He, then, who condemns every part of my administration; he who directs you to treat me with severity, as one who hath involved the State in terrors and dangers, while he labors to deprive me of present honors, robs you of the applause of all posterity. For if you now pronounce that, as my public conduct hath not been right, Ctesiphon must stand condemned, it must be thought that you yourselves have acted wrong, not that you owe your present state to the caprice of fortune. But it cannot be! No, my countrymen, it cannot be that you have acted wrong in encountering danger bravely for the liberty and the safety of all Greece. No! by those generous souls of ancient times who were exposed at Marathon! by those who stood

arrayed at Platæa! by those who encountered the Persian fleet at Salamis, who fought at Artemisium! by all those illustrious sons of Athens whose remains lie deposited in the public monuments! all of whom received the same honorable interment from their country—not those only who prevailed, not those only who were victorious: and with reason. What was the part of gallant men they all performed; their success was such as the Supreme Director of the world dispensed to each.

Well, then, thou miscreant! thou abject scrivener! thou, who, to rob me of the honors and the affections of these my countrymen, talkest of battles, of trophies, of brave deeds of old. And what are these, or any of these to the present cause? Say, thou vile player! when I assumed the character of a public counsellor, and on an object so important as the natural preëminence of my country, with what principles should I have arisen to speak? Those of suggesting measures unworthy of my countrymen? Then must I have met that death I merited. And when the interests of the State come before you, your minds, my fellow-citizens, should be possessed with an extraordinary degree of elevation, beyond what is necessary in private causes. When these are to be decided, you have only to consider the ordinary transactions of the world, the tenor of your laws, and the nature of private facts. But, in questions of State,

you are to look up to your illustrious ancestors; and every judge is to suppose, that with the symbols of his authority, he is also invested with the high character of his country. Thus, and thus only, shall he determine on such questions in a manner worthy of these his ancestors.

No, Æschines, if you are determined to examine into my fortune, compare it with your own: and if you find mine superior, let it be no longer the subject of your reproach. Let us trace this matter fully. And here, in the name of all the gods! let me not be censured as betraying any indication of a low mind. No man can be more sensible than I that he who insults poverty, and he who, because he hath been bred in affluence, assumes an air of pride and consequence, are equally devoid of understanding. But the virulence and restless malice of an inveterate adversary hath forced me on this topic, where I shall study to confine myself within as strict bounds as the case can possibly admit.

Know, then, Æschines, it was my fortune, when a youth, to be trained up in a liberal course of education, supplied in such a manner as to place me above the base temptations of poverty: when a man, to act suitably to such an education, to contribute in my full proportion to all the exigencies of the State; never to be wanting in any honorable conduct, either in private or in public life, but on all occasions to prove myself useful to my

country and to my friends. When I came into the administration of public affairs, I determined on such a course of conduct as frequently gained me the honor of a crown, both from this and other States of Greece. Nor could you, my enemies, attempt to say that I had determined on a dishonorable course. Such hath been the fortune of my life—a subject on which I might enlarge; but I must restrain myself, lest I should give offence by an affectation of importance.

Come, then, thou man of dignity, thou who spurnest at all others with contempt; examine thy own life; say, of what kind hath thy fortune been? She placed thee when a youth in a state of abject poverty, an assistant to thy father in his school, employed in the menial services of preparing his ink, washing down his benches, and sweeping his room, like a slave rather than a child of a citizen. When arrived at manhood, we find thee dictating the forms of initiation to thy mother, assisting in her trade, every night employed with thy fawn-skin and lustral bowls, purifying the novitiates, modelling their little figures of clay and bran, then rousing them, and teaching them to pronounce, "I have escaped the bad; I have found the better;" glorying in this noble accomplishment of howling out such jargon louder than the rest. And it is an honor we must allow him; for, as he pleads with so much vehemence, you may conclude that in his

howlings he was equally piercing and clamorous. In the daytime he led his noble Bacchanals through the highways crowned with fennel and poplar, grasping his serpents, and waving them above his head, with his yell of "Evoë! Saboë!" then bounding and roaring out "Hyës! Attës! Attës! Hyës!"—"Leader!—Conductor!—Ivy-bearer!—Van-bearer!" these were his felicitations from the old women: and his wages were tart, biscuit, and new-baked crusts. In such circumstances, surely we must congratulate him on his fortune.

When you had obtained your enrollment among our citizens—by what means I shall not mention—but when you had obtained it, you instantly chose out the most honorable of employments, that of under-scrivener, and assistant to the lowest of our public officers. And when you retired from this station, where you had been guilty of all those practices you charge on others, you were careful not to disgrace any of the past actions of your life. No, by the powers! You hired yourself to Simylus and Socrates, those deep-groaning tragedies, as they were called, and acted third characters. You pillaged the grounds of other men for figs, grapes, and olives, like a fruiterer; which cost you more blows than even your playing—which was in effect playing for your life; for there was an implacable, irreconcilable war declared between you and the spectators, whose

stripes you felt so often and so severely, that you may well deride those as cowards who are unexperienced in such perils. But I shall not dwell on such particulars as may be imputed to his poverty. My objections shall be confined to his principles. Such were the measures you adopted in your public conduct (for you at last conceived the bold design of engaging in affairs of State), that while your country prospered you led a life of trepidation and dismay, expecting every moment the stroke due to those iniquities which stung your conscience; when your fellow-citizens were unfortunate, then were you distinguished by a peculiar confidence. And the man who assumes this confidence when thousands of his countrymen have perished—what should he justly suffer from those who are left alive? And here I might produce many other particulars of his character. But I suppress them, for I am not to exhaust the odious subject of his scandalous actions. I am confined to those which it may not be indecent to repeat.

Take, then, the whole course of your life, Æschines, and of mine; compare them without heat or acrimony. You attended on your scholars; I was myself a scholar. You served in the initiations; I was initiated. You were a performer in our public entertainments; I was the director. You took notes of speeches; I was a

speaker. You were an under-player; I, was a spectator. You failed in your part; I hissed you. Your public conduct was devoted to our enemies; mine to my country. I shall only add that on this day I appear to be approved worthy of a crown: the question is not whether I have been merely blameless; this is a point confessed. You appear as a false accuser; and the question is, whether you are ever to appear again in such a character. You are in danger of being effectually prevented, by feeling the consequences of a malicious prosecution. The fortune of your life, then, hath been truly excellent; you see it. Mine hath been mean; and you have reason to reproach it. Come, then, hear me while I read the several attestations of those public offices which I have discharged; and, in return do you repeat those verses which you spoiled in the delivery:

> Forth from the deep abyss, behold, I come;
> And the dread portal of the dusky gloom.

And,

> Know, then, howe'er reluctant, I must speak
> Those evils——

Oh, may the gods inflict "those evils" on thee! may these thy countrymen inflict them to thy utter destruction!—thou enemy to Athens! thou traitor! thou vile player!—Read the attestations. [The attestations are read.]

Amid all this shamefully avowed corruption, this confederacy, or (shall I call it by its true name?) this traitorous conspiracy against the liberty of Greece, my conduct preserved the reputation of this State unimpeached by the world; while my character, Athenians, stood equally unimpeached by you. Do you ask me, then, on what merits I claim this honor? Hear my answer. When all the popular leaders through Greece had been taught by your example, and accepted the wages of corruption, from Philip first, and now from Alexander, no favorable moment was found to conquer my integrity; no insinuation of address, no magnificence of promises, no hopes, no fears, no favor—nothing could prevail on me to resign the least part of what I deemed the just rights and interests of my country: nor, when my counsels were demanded, was I ever known, like you and your associates, to lean to that side where a bribe had been, as it were, cast into the scale. No; my whole conduct was influenced by a spirit of rectitude, a spirit of justice and integrity; and, engaged as I was in affairs of greater moment than any statesman of my time, I administered them all with a most exact and uncorrupted faith. These are the merits on which I claim this honor.

As to those public works so much the object of your ridicule, they undoubtedly demand a due share of honor and applause; but I rate them far

beneath the great merits of my administration. It is not with stones or bricks that I have fortified the city. It is not from works like these that I derive my reputation. Would you know my methods of fortifying? Examine, and you will find them in the arms, the towns, the territories, the harbors I have secured; the navies, the troops, the armies I have raised. These are the works by which I defended Attica, as far as human foresight could defend it; these are the fortifications I drew round our whole territory, and not the circuit of our harbor or of our city only. In these acts of policy, in these provisions for a war I never yielded to Philip. No; it was our generals and our confederate forces who yielded to fortune. Would you know the proofs of this? They are plain and evident. Consider: what was the part of a faithful citizen? of a prudent, an active, and an honest minister? Was he not to secure Eubœa, as our defence against all attacks by sea? Was he not to make Bœotia our barrier on the midland side? the cities bordering on Peloponnesus our bulwark on that quarter? Was he not to attend with due precaution to the importation of corn, that this trade might be protected through all its progress up to our own harbor? Was he not to cover those districts which we commanded by seasonable detachments —as the Proconesus, the Chersonesus, and Tenedos? To exert himself in the assembly for this

purpose? while with equal zeal he labored to gain others to our interest and alliance—as Byzantium, Abydus, and Eubœa? Was he not to cut off the best and most important resources of our enemies, and to supply those in which our country was defective? And all this you gained by my counsels and my administration—such counsels and such an administration as must appear, upon a fair and equitable view, the result of strict integrity; such as left no favorable juncture unimproved through ignorance or treachery; such as ever had their due effect, as far as the judgment and abilities of one man could prove effectual. But if some superior being; if the power of fortune; if the misconduct of generals; if the iniquity of our traitors; or if all these together broke in on us, and at length involved us in one general devastation, how is Demosthenes to be blamed? Had there been a single man in each Grecian State to act the same part which I supported in this city,—nay, had but one such man been found in Thessaly and one in Arcadia, actuated by my principles, not a single Greek, either beyond or on this side of Thermopylæ, could have experienced the misfortunes of this day. All had then been free and independent, in perfect tranquillity, security, and happiness, uncontrolled in their several communities by any foreign power, and filled with gratitude to you and to your State, the authors

of these blessings so extensive and so precious. And all this by my means. To convince you that I have spoken much less than I could justify by facts, that in this detail I have studiously guarded against envy, take—read the list of our confederates, as they were procured by my decrees.

These, and such as these, Æschines, are the actions which become a noble-minded, honest citizen.

. . . . . .

There are two distinguishing qualities, Athenians, which the virtuous citizen should ever possess —(I speak in general terms, as the least invidious method of doing justice to myself)—a zeal for the honor and preëminence of the State in his official conduct; on all occasions, and in all transactions, an affection for his country. This nature can bestow. Abilities and success depend on another power. And in this affection you find me firm and invariable. Not the solemn demand of my person; not the vengeance of the Amphictyonic Council, which they denounced against me; not the terror of their threatenings; not the flattery of their promises; no, nor the fury of those accursed wretches whom they roused like wild beasts against me could ever tear this affection from my breast. From first to last I have uniformly pursued a just and virtuous course of conduct; assertor of the honors, of the prerogatives, of the glory of

my country; studious to support them, zealous to advance them, my whole being is devoted to this glorious cause. I was never known to march through the city with a face of joy and exultation at the success of a foreign power; embracing and announcing the joyful tidings to those who, I supposed, would transmit it to the proper place. I was never known to receive the successes of my own country with tremblings, with sighings, with eyes bending to the earth, like those impious men who are the defamers of the State, as if by such conduct they were not defamers of themselves; who look abroad, and, when a foreign potentate hath established his power on the calamities of Greece, applaud the event, and tell us we should take every means to perpetuate his power.

Hear me, ye immortal gods! and let not these their desires be ratified in heaven! Infuse a better spirit into these men! Inspire even their minds with purer sentiments!—This is my first prayer.—Or, if their natures are not to be reformed, on them, on them only discharge your vengeance! Pursue them both by land and sea! Pursue them even to destruction! But to us display your goodness in a speedy deliverance from impending evils, and all the blessings of protection and tranquillity.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

DEINARCHUS

Deinarchus was a Corinthian. Dionysius gives 361 B.C. as the date of his birth. He settled in Athens, and made his living by writing speeches for others. He attained his highest reputation after the banishment or death of Demosthenes and other great orators. He was involved in a charge of conspiracy against the democracy, and withdrew to Chalcis, in Eubœa. After fifteen years he returned to Athens.

Deinarchus was a weak imitator of Demosthenes. Hermogenes, who credits him with "fiery earnestness" and "vehemence," admits his want of finish.

Three speeches of Deinarchus are extant, those against Demosthenes, against Aristogeiton, against Philocles. The first is important as treating of the charge of bribery against Demosthenes in the Harpalus affair.

For the text consult the edition of Blass in the Teubner series (1888); English translation of the speech against Demosthenes by Thomas Leland, D.D. See also Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit,* iii., 2, pp. 289–333; Jebb, *Attic Orators,* ii., p. 374.

AGAINST DEMOSTHENES

[Selection.] *Deinarchus.*

In 324 B.C. Harpalus, the absconding treasurer of Alexander, appeared before the Piræus with troops and embezzled treasure. On motion of Demosthenes the harbor was closed against him. Later he appeared as a refugee without his mercenaries and was admitted. When his surrender was peremptorily demanded, it was resolved, on motion of Demosthenes, not to give up Harpalus, but to lodge the gold in the Parthenon in trust for Alexander. Previous to his arrest Harpalus stated the treasure as seven hundred and twenty talents. The amount actually deposited was three hundred and fifty talents. Meanwhile Harpalus escaped, and there remained no evidence regarding the missing treasure. Demosthenes carried a decree that the Areopagus should investigate the case. Among others, he himself was accused of receiving bribes, Hypereides and Deinarchus both speaking against him. After many months the Areopagus brought in their report, naming Demosthenes at the head of the list, and charging him with having received twenty talents. We present the speech of Deinarchus.

THIS your minister, Athenians! who hath pronounced sentence of death on himself should he be convicted of receiving anything from Harpalus—this very man hath been clearly convicted of accepting bribes from those whom in former times he affected to oppose with so much zeal. As Stratocles has spoken largely upon this subject; as many articles of accusation have been anticipated; as the council of Areopagus has made a report on this inquiry so consonant to equity and truth—a report confirmed and enforced by

Stratocles, who hath produced the decrees enacted against these crimes—it remains that we who are now to speak (who are engaged in a cause of more importance than ever came before this State) should request the whole assembly, first, that we obtain your pardon if we should repeat some things already urged (for here our purpose is, not to abuse your patience, but to inflame your indignation); and, secondly, that you may not give up the general rights and laws of the community, or exchange the general welfare for the speeches of the accused. You see that in this assembly it is Demosthenes that is tried: in all other places your own trial is depending. On you, men turn their eyes, and wait with eagerness to see how far the interests of your country will engage your care; whether you are to take upon yourselves the corruption and iniquity of these men, or whether you are to manifest to the world a just resentment against those who are bribed to betray the State.

This last is fully in your power. The assembly has made a fair decree. The citizens have discovered their desire to detect those speakers, whoever they may be, who, to the disgrace and detriment of their community, have presumed to receive gold from Harpalus. Add to this, that you yourself, Demosthenes, and many others, have moved in form that the council, agreeably to ancient usage,

should enter into an inquiry whether any persons had been thus guilty. The council has made this inquiry; not that your instances were wanting to remind them of their duty, or that they wished to sacrifice the truth, the truth reposed in them, to you: but from a full persuasion (as the Areopagites have expressed it) of the influence of such practices on all our counsels and transactions, and a firm resolution never to plead the danger of being exposed to calumny when they were to detect the man who attempted to bring disgrace and danger on his country.

And although the dignity and propriety of this procedure have received the approbation of the people, Demosthenes has recourse to complaints, to appeals, to malicious accusations, now that he finds himself convicted of receiving twenty talents of gold. Shall then this council, on whose faith and justice we rely, even in the important case of premeditated murder, to whom we commit the vengeance due to this crime, who have an absolute power over the persons and lives of our citizens, who can punish every violation of our laws, either by exile or by death,—shall this council, I say, on an inquiry into a case of bribery, at once lose all its authority? "Yes; for the Areopagus hath reported falsely of Demosthenes." Extravagant and absurd! What! report falsely of Demosthenes and Demades, against whom even the truth seems

scarcely to be declared with safety? You who have in former times moved that this council should take cognizance of public affairs, and have applauded their reports; you, whom this whole city has not been able to restrain within the bounds of justice, hath the council reported falsely against you? Why then did you declare to the people that you were ready to submit to death if condemned by the report of this council? Why have you availed yourself of their authority to take off so many of our citizens? Or whither shall we have recourse? to whom shall we intrust the detection of secret villainy? if you, notwithstanding all your affected regard to our popular government, are to dissolve this council, to whose protection our lives have been intrusted; to whose protection our liberty and our constitution have oftentimes been intrusted; by whose protection that person of thine hath been preserved (for, as you pretend, it has frequently been attempted) to utter these calumnies against them; to whose care we have committed our secret archives, on which the very being of our State depends. But it is just—it is just, I say, that the council should meet with these returns of calumny. For I shall freely speak my sentiments. One of these two methods should they have pursued: either instantly have entered into the first inquiry relative to the three hundred talents sent hither by the King of Persia, as the

people directed, and then this monster would have been punished, his accomplices in corruption detected, and all his traitorous practices, by which Thebes was betrayed to ruin, being clearly laid open, an ignominious death would have freed us from him ; or, if you were inclined to pardon this crime in Demosthenes, and thus to propagate the race of corrupted hirelings within your city, this discovery of your sentiments should have determined them not to enter into any inquiry on information of the money received by Demosthenes. For now, when the council of the Areopagus have nobly and equitably proceeded to a full detection of this man and his accomplices ; when, regardless of the power of Demosthenes and Demades, they have adhered inviolably to truth and justice, still Demosthenes goes round the city, utters his invectives against this council, and boasts of his services in those speeches which you shall hear him instantly use to deceive the assembly :—"It was I who gained you the alliance of Thebes!"—No! you it was who ruined the common interests of both States. "I drew out the forces of Chæronæa!"—No! you were the only person who there fled from your post. "For you have I engaged in several embassies." And what would he do—what would he demand—had these his negotiations been successful when, having ranged through the world only to involve us in such

calamities and misfortunes, he expects to be rewarded with a liberty of receiving bribes against his country, and the privilege of speaking and of acting in this assembly as he pleases? To Timotheus, who awed all Peloponnesus by his fleet, who gained the naval victory at Corcyra over the Lacedæmonians, who was the son of Conon, the man who restored liberty to Greece, who gained Samos, and Methone, and Pydna, and Potidæa, and besides these, twenty cities more; you did not admit those important benefits, which he conferred on us, to have any weight against the integrity of your tribunals, against those oaths by which you were engaged in pronouncing sentence. No: you imposed on him a fine of one hundred talents, because that he had by his own acknowledgment received money from the Chians and the Rhodians. And shall not this outcast, this Scythian (for my indignation will not be restrained), whom not one man, but the whole body of the Areopagus has, on full inquiry, declared guilty of receiving bribes, declared a hireling, and fully proved to be a corrupted traitor to his country—shall he not be punished with that severity which may serve as an example to others? He, who has not only been detected in receiving money from the King, but has enriched himself with the spoils of the State, and now could not even be restrained from sharing the vile wages which Harpalus here distributed? . . .

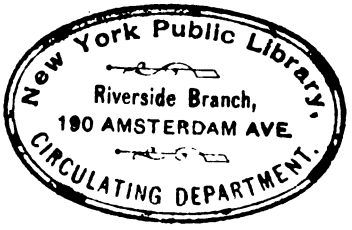
And now, my fellow-citizens, consider how you are to act. The people have returned to you an information of a crime lately committed. Demosthenes stands first before you to suffer the punishment denounced against all whom this information condemns. We have explained his guilt with an unbiased attention to the laws. Will you then discover a total disregard of all these offences? Will you, when intrusted with so important a decision, invalidate the judgment of the people, of the Areopagus, of all mankind? Will you take upon yourselves the guilt of these men? Or will you give the world an example of that detestation in which this State holds traitors and hirelings that oppose our interests for a bribe? This entirely depends on you. You, the fifteen hundred chosen judges, have the safety of our country in your hands. This day, the sentence you are now to pronounce must establish this city in full security, if it be consonant to justice; or must entirely defeat all our hopes, if it gives support to such iniquitous practices. Let not the false tears of Demosthenes make an impression on your minds, nor sacrifice our rights and laws to his supplications. Necessity never forced him to receive his share of this gold; he was more than sufficiently enriched by your treasure. Necessity has not forced him now to enter on his defence; his crimes are acknowledged; his sentence

pronounced by himself. The sordid baseness, the guilt of all his past life have at length brought down vengeance upon his head; let not then his tears and lamentations move you. It is your country that much more deservedly claims your pity; your country, which his practices have exposed to danger; your country, which now supplicates its sons, presents your wives and children before you, beseeching you to save them by punishing this traitor; that country, in which your ancestors, with a generous zeal, encountered numberless dangers, that they might transmit it free to their posterity, in which we find many and noble examples of ancient virtue. Here fix your attention. Look to your religion, the sacred rights of antiquity, the sepulchres of your fathers, and give sentence with an unshaken integrity. When Demosthenes attempts to deceive and abuse you with his tears and wailings, then turn your eyes to the city, reflect upon its former glory, and consider whether Demosthenes has been reduced to greater wretchedness by the city, or the city by Demosthenes. You will find that he, from the time that he was intrusted with our affairs, rose from the condition of a writer of speeches and hired pleader for Ctesippus and Phormio, to a state of affluence superior to all his countrymen; from obscurity, from a birth ennobled by no ancestry, he arose to eminence: but that the city has been

reduced to a condition utterly unworthy of its ancient illustrious honors.

Despising, then, the entreaties, the false artifices of this man, let justice and integrity be your only objects. Consider the good of your country, not that of Demosthenes. This is the part of honest, upright judges. And should any man arise to plead in favor of Demosthenes, consider that such a man, if not involved in the same guilt, is at least disaffected to the State; as he would screen those from justice who have been bribed to betray its interests; as he would subvert the authority of the Areopagus, on which our lives depend, and confound and destroy all our laws and institutions. But should any orator or general arise to defend him, in hopes to defeat an indictment by which they themselves must be attacked, suffer them not to speak; consider that they have been accomplices in entertaining and conveying Harpalus away; consider that these men do really speak against their country, and are the common enemies of our laws and constitution: silence such insidious advocates. If the facts alleged be false, let that be proved; and especially let your indignation fall on him who foolishly relies on his power of speaking; who, when evidently convicted of receiving bribes, adds to his guilt by attempting to practice his artifices upon you. Inflict that punishment upon him which the honor of

your country and your own honor demand; else, by one vote, by one sentence, will you bring down all their guilt upon yourselves and on the people who have or may be convicted of corruption; and you yourselves will condemn that ill-judged lenity which now suffers them to escape, when it is no longer in your power to prevent the fatal consequences.

Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

END OF VOLUME I